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PRINCIPAL S. D. F. SALMOND, D.D., F.E.I.S.

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A Quartette of Norse Preachers.

THERE are 5,000 people in Norway interested enough in preaching to procure for themselves the volumes of sermons issued; and as the population is not much greater than that of Wales such a number must be deemed very good. How many preachers in Wales, in Scotland or in England can command such a circle of readers? In the case of four Norwegian ministers sometimes merely a period of a month or two elapses between the issue of the first edition of a volume and the publication of the third, completing the 5,000 copies. And a perusal of their sermons enables even a non-Norwegian or a non-Lutheran to understand their popularity; and something characteristic in each of them helps a reader to see that whatever may be the case with the average priest in Norway there is nothing stereotyped about the preaching of the popular men. And yet there is this singularity about them that the subjects are almost invariably drawn from the Gospels; that there is hardly ever a lecture or exposition of a passage of Scripture, although the theme is usually the Gospel for the day; that the treatment is rarely textual; that when the sermon happens to be divided there is seldom any attempt at balancing the parts; and that illustrations in the form of anecdotes or historical and literary references are most sparingly employed.

Johan Storm Munch, the oldest of the quartette, has well-nigh reached the fourscore years. He belongs to a famous family which has given the Norwegian Church and nation many able men; and he himself has had a most interesting history. He was a Norse minister in the United States for four years. He was chaplain to the naval representatives of Norway at the opening of the Suez Canal; and at that time he paid a visit to the Holy Land, a visit that had a great influence on his spiritual life and ministerial labours.

Some thirty years ago in many districts in Norway there was a distinct revival of religion which led to strenuous endeavours to secure much-needed reforms in the ultra-Erastian Lutheran State Church, and Munch was one of the most zealous reformers. He was distinguished among the Norwegian clergy for his passion for souls, and a special blessing seemed to rest on his labours in the parish of Horten, of which he was incumbent. The influence of the revival there passed far beyond the bounds of his cure and is gratefully remembered still. Munch tried to make the most of the Norwegian ritual and his ordination vows. He objected strongly to compulsory confirmation, to absolution without previous confession and to various other rubrics and regulations of the Church. The Bishop and the Church Department interfered with his Puritan zeal; and rather than be false to his conscience Munch resigned his parish and published *My Relation to the State Church and its Office*, which attracted enormous attention. And his attitude was justified; for some of the reforms he contended for have been granted by the Government, and the others still withheld have been appealed for by several National Church gatherings along the lines desired by Munch a generation ago.

Wettergreen, another State Church minister, having also resigned his cure for conscience sake, Munch and he visited Scotland in company in order to learn something about non-State religion and Free Church life. On their return to Norway they were welcomed by an immense gathering of sympathisers, and at the conference which followed the main resolutions arrived at were that "most of the evils existing in the Norwegian Church were due to her bondage to the State; that reform from within could hardly be expected; and that if a Free Church was to be organised the Presbyterian form of Church government was best in accordance with the Word of God". As a result of the conference the Free Lutheran Church in Norway took origin, with Wettergreen at its head, and that Church, Free, Evangelical and Lutheran, has had a most honourable history.

But Munch did not quite despair of the State Church, and

although he would no longer bind himself with the priest's oath he devoted his powers as a preacher to winning souls for Christ under the ægis of the National Church. In a great public hall in Christiania for a period of upwards of five and twenty years he has gathered every Sunday vast crowds from all classes of society to hear the Gospel preached as at first at least it was only preached by himself. And years ago when a collection of sermons was issued in Germany purporting to give specimens of the very best preaching in various lands, a magnificent sermon of Munch's was chosen to represent Norway, and few sermons in all the collection could compare with it for point and grace, for eloquence and unction, for spiritual insight and passionate zeal for immortal souls.

We have seen three volumes of sermons by Pastor Munch issued at intervals of ten years.[1]

In the seventies the average length of Munch's sermons was 6,500 words, in the eighties it was 3,300, and in the nineties 2,200. In these three volumes one meets a man who greatly reminds us of Spurgeon, a strong man in every sense, vigorous, intellectual, eloquent, evangelical, a man mighty in the Scriptures, using quotations from God's Word both frequently and well. From a present-day standpoint the first volume is heavier than the others; each sermon being prefaced with a three-minute prayer and introduced with the formula, "Fellow-redeemed in Christ Jesus: Grace be with you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ". Some of these sermons are the nearest approach we have seen in Norwegian pulpit literature to textual and expository preaching, and more justice is done to the subject than in his later and briefer sermons.

In his volume *I Know that My Redeemer Liveth* (which reached the high-water mark of 8,000 copies) we have a collection of sermons, mainly topical but occasionally textual;

[1] *Kom til Jesus* (Come to Jesus), U. M. K. Forenings Forlag, Christiania, 1876. *Jeg ved at min Frelser lever* (I know that my Redeemer liveth), S. Mittet, Christiania, 1888. *Glæde i Herren er eders Styrke* (The joy of the Lord is your strength), S. Mittet, Christiania, 1897.

ripe, clear, pithy, practical utterances, setting forth the main doctrines of the Christian faith, singularly free from the Lutheran vice of ecclesiastical dogmatism and laying the main emphasis on salvation by faith through grace. The third volume, *The Joy of the Lord is Your Strength*, gives us sermons on the Gospels for the whole Church year. They naturally vary greatly, and the book would have been better if it had contained but half the number; although it would not then have revealed so much of Munch's average ability, it would have contained deliverances every one in some respect being happy, striking, heart-searching, soul-seeking. And yet whatever the subject, each sermon reveals a preacher who gives us some fresh, inspiring thoughts, and every hearer of them must have realised anew the value of the soul, the need of decision for Christ, and the joy of assured redemption. Well, indeed, on the occasion of Munch's ministerial jubilee in 1900, might the King create the veteran preacher a Knight of St. Olaf, for he has proved himself to be a worthy soldier of St. Olaf's Lord; and we cannot doubt that had Munch not been constrained by conscience to leave the regular pastorate of the Norwegian Church he would long ago have been raised to the episcopate like his father before him.

The second of our quartette of preachers is J. J. Jansen, who five years ago, at the early age of fifty-four, had to give up the ministry on account of broken health. Although Munch retired from the regular ministry nearly thirty years ago he still preaches to great audiences weekly; but now Jansen only preaches, with the exception of an occasional University sermon, through his printed sermons, and no preacher in Norway can command so large a circle of readers.

In his early childhood Jansen was a voracious reader of history and romance, and in his tenth year he wrote a sermon, the subject, *mirabile dictu*, being "How did Paul preach to the Gentiles?" The child was father to the man who was to consecrate his life to suggesting such questions and answering them in his preaching. Still he was well on in his university course before he decided to enter the Church, and he continued to attend many lectures outside the ordinary

theological curriculum. A nervous ailment asserted itself during his student days and frequently interrupted his work, and he was nearly thirty before he could enter on his first curacy. In his three pastorates, which have all been in rural parishes, he devoted himself to his various duties with such ardour and fidelity that his health, never robust, frequently gave way, his sufferings were at times intense, and he had to take long rests, until in 1898 there was no course open but to resign his charge at Röken altogether. But during these years his preaching and his pastoral work made such an impression that the whole spiritual life of the parishes in which he ministered was transformed and a wonderful religious revival spread far beyond the parochial bounds.

In 1891 his first volume of sermons[1] was issued at the urgent request of many friends, and the publication was an event in Norway. For the unexpected freshness of the sermons, the strength in them, the personal power behind them, bore the stamp of genius and commanded the attention of all who were interested in the religious well-being of the nation. *Everyday Sermons* was followed at intervals by other five volumes, each generally quickly reaching a third edition, the combined circulation of the six volumes being some 30,000 copies. Some of the volumes have been translated into German, Finnish and Swedish. It is not often that the minister of a rural parish commands the attention of his own country and finds an interested and expectant circle of readers in foreign lands as well. But as each of Jansen's books came out it became more evident that the preacher had something to say to his age and to say it so that the message could not be misunderstood.

Jansen's preaching was a reaction against the prosing of the pulpit in his own early days. He says: "The old way of preaching had much need to be altered, to become more simple and practical, more living and soul-searching. It needed something of the salt of the Sermon on the Mount

[1] *Hverdagsprædikener* (Everyday Sermons), Aschehoug, Christiania, 1891.

and something of the spirit of conversation with friends. And it needed to be suited to the age in the right sense, not least for the men with modern minds, familiar with the questions and thoughts of the present day. And the preacher needs to speak more out of his own living personal faith. One other thing may be needed: suffering and trial, but God Himself in His grace will see to that." In these words Jansen is perhaps unconsciously reflecting exactly what his own preaching is.

In the Preface to his latest volume[1] he says: "The aim of my preaching is conversion and life in God by Jesus Christ. We all preach consciously or unconsciously after models. My pattern first and foremost has been Jesus Christ. My whole Christianity depends on personal trust in Him. And Christ by His preaching has dominated me homiletically. The preaching of Jesus is based on faith in His divine nature and on the Atonement. It is not very theoretic or dogmatic; but it is so practical, ever considering the capacity of the hearers." That helps us to understand wherein Jansen's power consists. We have no idea whether the Norwegian preacher knew anything about the sermons of Dr. Joseph Parker or Mr. Jowett of Birmingham, but there are times when Jansen distinctly recalls the characteristics of these two men at their best.

What then is the distinctive charm in Jansen's sermons? It is not so much that the preacher possesses a superlative power of simple, clear, impressive utterance as that he speaks about the supreme interests of the soul out of a life of hard toil and intense thought and many sufferings; and it is the authority of personal experience, the confidence that comes of conflicts overcome, that has given his religious outlook its ripeness and his preaching its magnetic power.

What strikes the reader immediately in these sermons is their language, their colloquial form, living, real, fresh and natural as in an ordinary conversation with friends when important questions are discussed. The sermons are singu-

[1] *Sög Gud* (Seek God), Aschehoug, Christiania, 1901.

larly free from the old dogmatic and pietistic phrases, and the ideas usually represented by these are so paraphrased as to be immediately understood by every hearer. He uses illustrations more freely than any other Norwegian, and his stories, images and examples are drawn from everyday life, events and ideas, showing how thoroughly he has entered into the common experiences of his people. In the pulpit Jansen sometimes puts a question to his audience and waits as if for an answer before he continues. The hearer therefore feels that the subject personally concerns himself. The thoughts are as a rule simple and easily grasped and the religious truths are set forth in such a way that what is spoken may pass into the thoughts of the hearers, become the moving power in their wills, and obtain the supremacy in their daily lives.

Jansen was practically unknown until his first volume of sermons appeared. Thereafter, wherever he did preach, great crowds gathered from every quarter to hear until the fiat of silence went forth. Had he been as physically strong as he is mentally virile, spiritually intense, and keenly zealous for the conversion and edification of souls, Jansen would have been the means of revolutionising the preaching of the Norwegian pulpit. As it is, in these six volumes the preachers of Norway will learn how one man never failed to reach a hearer's heart.

"The apostle of the new preaching" is the name that has been given to Thorvald Klaveness, Knight of St. Olaf, the incumbent of Frogner Church in Christiania. Now that Jansen can only preach on paper, Klaveness is the foremost pulpit orator in Norway. A man in his sixtieth year, he can look back on a long life of varied service for Church and country, and his multifarious interests and engagements show that there is no more vigorous priest and writer amongst the Norse clergy to-day.

Klaveness was a brilliant student, early displaying the great dialetic skill for which he is renowned. In any discussion or controversy his keen blade, wielded with master hand, speedily finds the weak spot in his opponent's armour ;

and seldom does any one get the better of Klaveness. As founder and joint-editor of *For Kirke og Kultur* (For Church and Culture), a powerful magazine which has aided greatly in reforming Norse theology and bringing to the aid of religion the freshness and the strength of culture, Klaveness has exercised a mighty influence on all the educated ranks and classes of society in the land. Besides a multitude of articles in all the leading journals and reviews, he is the author of important volumes on such subjects as these: *The Historical Books of the Old Testament; Exposition of Luther's Catechism; The Doctrines of the Bible; Biblical History;* in addition to others of less importance; and one or other of his books has been translated into Swedish, Finnish, Landsmaal and Icelandic.

At a clerical conference in Sweden, in 1901, Klaveness dealt exhaustively with the subject "Modern Indifferentism and the Church," and immediately afterwards published a volume with that title. He propounds the questions: Why do Norwegian men not go to church? What must be done to draw them? To the former question he replies that the indifference is mainly due to the present kind of preaching, on account of its poverty, its proclamation of doctrines unintelligible to the average man, and its clinging to discarded dogmas. To the latter question he replies that a recasting of these doctrines is needed, a simpler setting forth of the Christian religion, a greater effort to look with brotherly affection on men, especially on men with modern minds, emphasising the fatherly love of God and the offer of a full pardon to every penitent who longs for salvation and peace, who trusts in Jesus and seeks to do God's will.

The preaching of Klaveness could hardly be better characterised than in these words which set forth the ideal at which the great Norwegian preacher aims and which he frequently attains. In his chief volume of sermons, *The Gospel for To-day*,[1] which quickly reached a third edition, the

[1] *Evangeliet forkyndt for Nutiden* (The Gospel for To-day), Aschehoug, Christiania, 1900.

discourses cover the Gospels for the Church year. Norwegian priests receive from headquarters the texts on which they are to preach on every Sunday of the year. As latterly there has been a triennial cycle the minister's total stock need only consist of 200 sermons or thereby. Klaveness' book gives a year's sermons. Had it contained only 200 pages instead of 460 and given us only twenty or twenty-five instead of sixty-five sermons it would have been an ideal collection, for then each sermon would have been selected because of the preacher's interest in the subject or for the message it contained to others beyond his own congregation. The volume therefore suffers in comparison with a volume by Jansen. Although every sermon is more or less crisp, clear, fresh, eloquent, incisive and zealous for souls, yet the original and brilliant sermons are counterbalanced by some that show traces of perfunctory manufacture. Sometimes the prescribed text appears at the head of the sermon and in the first paragraph is dismissed, whilst some interesting subject is announced, to be ably developed and splendidly enforced. Half-a-dozen of the sermons should have had Old Testament texts instead of those that head them. And this leads us to remark that in Norway the Old Testament is practically never used in ordinary services for edification. We have examined upwards of twenty volumes of Norwegian sermons; every text but two was drawn from the Gospels. Of the two exceptions the one was from Isaiah, the other from one of the Epistles. The consequence is that in this volume, as in most other Norse volumes of sermons, some doctrines are over-emphasised, some almost ignored; some phases of religious life and activity are frequently treated of, others quite as important are seldom touched upon; the life of Christ is fully covered every year, whilst Christ in us is but rarely made the subject of a sermon at all. These strictures are not directed to Klaveness specially; their address is the Norwegian Church and its stereotyped system.

As a preacher, Klaveness, now that Jansen, his prototype, is laid aside, is head and shoulders above every parish priest

and bishop in Norway, except Dean Jensen. His *The Gospel for To-day*, although it contains some dross, contains also a large quantity of very fine gold. His last volume, *The Conflict of the Day*,[1] contains only select sermons recently preached, all gems in their way: and the book reached a third edition within three months of its first appearance. At the heart of them all we find the gospel of "the Fatherly love of God and the crucified and risen Son in whom we poor, sinful mortals have forgiveness and eternal life". If such preaching were heard in every parish in the land it would no longer be necessary to ask the question: Why do Norwegian men not go to church?

The discourses of Klaveness might all be called Sermons from a City Pulpit. They specially appeal to cultured people who have no sympathy with traditionalism, yet who find themselves in a materialistic environment and need all the inspiration, guidance and consolation which the gospel of Jesus Christ alone can give. The burning eloquence and human sympathy manifested show Klaveness' love for souls and his love for the modern man, and quite explain the immense influence and popularity of the apostle of the new preaching.

The last of the quartette is Gustav Jensen, Vicar of Our Saviour's Church and Dean of Christiania, Knight Commander of the Order of St. Olaf. The four preachers have not been introduced in the order of merit: we do not venture to place them, for each is in some respect pre-eminent. And we do not mean to imply that there are no other popular preachers in Norway. The Bishop of Christiansand, although ultra-Lutheran, hyper-Conservative, very Churchy and dogmatic, was once as popular as any preacher in the land and can still draw great audiences; and there are some rising preachers who will be heard of in the days to come. But Munch, Jansen, Klaveness and Jensen have established their popularity; they command in the pulpit or the press the ear

[1] *I Dagens Stred* (The Conflict of the Day), Aschehoug, Christiania, 1903.

of the people ; and their successive volumes of sermons reach the 5,000 standard and claim our approbation and praise.

Gustav Jensen, now verging on threescore years, is the most influential clergyman in Norway, and has been so for a long period. He left the University of Christiania with great distinction, and practically his whole public life has been spent in the Norwegian metropolis. For fourteen years he was Principal of the Theological College of the State Church, and as Dean of the diocese he is head of all the clergy in Christiania. Time after time he has refused a bishopric, and he is looked upon as the St. Bernard of the Norwegian Church. To him in times of difficulty bishops come for advice, and Ministers of State initiate no ecclesiastical legislation without first consulting him ; and the clergy of the Church have found him at all times to be the wisest and kindliest of counsellors.

As Principal of the State Church College and Professor of Homiletics and Pastoral Theology, Jensen has wielded a wonderful influence in the Norwegian Church, an influence which, through successive generations of priests, the whole country will continue to feel. No one was better fitted for the post than he with his rich personal gifts and graces, his thorough theological acquirements, his intimate acquaintance with and great interest in the most momentous questions of the day, in addition to his keen psychological eye, his valuable pastoral experience and his fine æsthetic sense.

Of the books he has written we might mention *Lectures on the Priest's Office ; Christian Doctrine ; Divine Service and Congregational Life ;* and many treatises about Æsthetics, on which he is a recognised authority ; and a number of poems which are distinguished by their grace of form, their warmth and their intensity. But Jensen's best book undoubtedly is his *Preparation for the Priest's Office*,[1] a series of prayers and meditations on the various aspects of the ministerial office. It is a Norse breviary, so to speak, and is beyond praise. It sets forth in the proper light the dignity

[1] *Indledning i Prestetjenesten*, Gröndahl & Sons, Christiania, 1902.

and responsibility of the priestly office, the servant and the service, the minister's character and conduct, his consecration and courage, God's Church and the aim of all ministerial service. For clear, concise, conscience-probing, heart-searching representation of a minister's relation to his office, his congregation and his God, we have seldom read anything to compare with Dean Jensen's book. If all Norse ministers had looked upon their work in the light of Jensen's *Preparation* the religious state of Norway would be very different from what it is to-day. If all the ministers who have passed through Jensen's hands are animated by the spirit revealed in this book the regeneration of Gamle Norge is very nigh. No wonder the volume has reached a third edition and is therefore in the hands of every Norwegian priest and of multitudes besides, and been translated into the other Scandinavian languages and into German ; and no wonder its author has gained a place in the love and esteem of his countrymen such as no priest has enjoyed for many a weary year.

Jensen, having occupied the chair of Homiletics, one turns with interest to his volumes of sermons[1] to discover how the erstwhile Professor of Preaching himself preaches, to find out if possible the secret of his pulpit popularity. In these volumes we note a far closer approach to our ideal of what a sermon should be than in most other similar Norse books. As a rule in Jensen's sermons the subject is clearly defined, carefully thought out, admirably developed ; the language is fluent, chaste and graceful, and the various parts of the discourse are well balanced and combined into an impressive whole. No Norse preacher convinces the mind of his hearer or reader so effectively or sends one away seeing the path of duty so straight and clear. These volumes show that Jensen is permeated with the holy ardour of love, and reveal a man with rich endowments

[1] *Fra Paasketiden* (From Eastertide), Gröndahl & Sons, Christiania. *Prædikener paa Kirkeaaret* (Sermons on the Church Year), Christiania. *Tanker og Opgaver* (Thoughts and Problems), Christiania.

and a sustained eloquence that awakes, illumines and warms. The preacher evidently magnifies his office and deeply feels his responsibility towards the immortal souls before him. His sermons set forth the gospel of free grace in all its fulness and lead to awakening without being actual revival sermons, and try to arouse the Church to its responsibility towards them that are without.

In *Thoughts and Problems* we find Jensen treating in a masterly way such subjects as the sacred calling of medicine, religion and Christianity, progress in morality, a man's thoughts, lonely mortals, and so on. They are eloquent, cogent and powerful, and it is a pity so few in this country can read and profit by them. They reveal a man specially qualified for fighting the battle of Christianity in a city and a country where freethought and religious indifference are so common and so confident. Jensen has travelled much in continental countries and in the East, but he has never visited Britain, and it is therefore interesting to notice his repeated and appreciative reference in this volume to our own land. For instance, in setting forth the vital power in Christianity he says: "An important and pertinent testimony on this point is that the nation in which Christianity may be said to have the greatest power, the English nation, is admitted by all to be the nation most capable of living, the nation with the greatest future before it, whilst the nation in which tendencies hostile to Christianity have the freest scope, *viz.*, the French nation, in spite of some magnificent advantages, is stationary or retrograding".

And in another passage he says: "There are peoples (as, in our own day, especially the English) and there are tribes and families and individuals who are more religious than others, because they have been more faithful in the use of the religious talent which has been implanted in them by God. And even to a superficial glance it is easy to see that the religious nations and religious men are more capable of living and more happy than those in whom the religious sense has suffered injury. For the former have in their faith in God and in His government of the world an

immeasurable hold for their life which the others lack and which is of the utmost significance in a world where otherwise nothing is fixed and reliable. They are, to use a modern expression, better equipped for the struggle for existence than the others, and they will therefore certainly and necessarily survive them."

Jensen's personality and his preaching easily account for the crowds of high and low, of regular adherents and irregular churchgoers, of worthy Lutherans and those very loosely connected with religion, who gather whenever it is known that the Dean of Christiania will preach. And if ministers of the Gospel are to receive recognition from royalty we can well understand that King Oscar had special pleasure in raising Gustav Jensen to the high dignity of Knight Commander of St. Olaf's Order, the only minister of the Lutheran Church, except distinguished bishops, who enjoys that honour and precedence.

Most Norwegian ministers are intolerant towards dissenters, more so even than towards those quite indifferent to religion: and many of them lay far more emphasis on mere assent to the Lutheran doctrines in order to obtain salvation than on faith in Christ's atoning sacrifice. But when we are with these four preachers we find ourselves in an atmosphere of tolerance that is quite refreshing; there is an absence of preaching jargon in their sermons; and the full, free Gospel is offered unto all, unfettered by dogmatic bonds. Indeed, the charge of disloyalty to the Church and of heterodoxy has been raised by the conservative Old Lutherans against the "new preachers," especially Jansen and Klaveness, because of their refusal to preach in the conventional way and to use the hackneyed pietistic phrases, and to proclaim salvation as conditional on anything save repentance towards God and faith in Jesus Christ. These preachers are the champions of the weak and the oppressed, and by comparison the mantle of their charity is very broad. If we mistake not, this sympathy, freedom and tolerance have much to do with their popularity, and it is our hope that many others may find the secret, and by kindly recog-

nition of good work done by Christian Churches outside the Lutheran pale, and by consecrated, zealous efforts to proclaim the gospel of the grace of God to the wistful, the weary and the wandering, bring near the time when Norway will be completely regained for Christianity, and the descendants of the Vikings of old become in deed and in truth the devoted followers of the Prince of Peace. Britain will indeed greatly rejoice when the land which owes its Christianity to her is ministered to by a multitude of men such as these four, with hearts burning for the salvation of men, labouring in the service of Christ, to the glory of God.

J. Beveridge.

Old Testament Prophecy.

By the late A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D. Edited by J. A. Paterson, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8*vo*, pp. xiv. + 507. 10*s.* 6*d. net.*

At last, though with a voice from the grave and perhaps unwillingly, Professor Davidson claims his own place—the place long kept vacant for him in the library of the student of the Old Testament. We have waited with eager expectation to learn whether the MSS. of a scholar so distinguished included any adequate memorial of his life-work. Until a few months ago, the outside world depended for its direct knowledge of him chiefly on grammars and primers, dictionary articles and school commentaries. Within the limits set by the nature of each piece of work, it was universally recognised as possessing the highest qualities. The sermons recently published were a new proof that spiritual insight of the rarest kind belonged to their author. Its combination in any man with a wide and thorough scholarship always entitles us to expect some permanent contribution to theological literature. None can have used the *Cambridge Bible* commentaries on "Job" and "Ezekiel" without desiring to hear their author speak from a wider platform and on more general issues. That desire is gratified by the present substantial octavo volume, which contains, as Professor Paterson remarks in the brief preface, "the final results of forty years' strenuous thinking on this profoundly interesting subject" of Old Testament prophecy.

Perhaps the remark would be more exact if for "results" we read "records". This is a volume of college lectures; their composition has spread over a long term of years. "Every chapter in this book," says the editor, "has been taken direct from the manuscript lectures which were used

by the author in his classes up to the last." But the fact of their frequent revision does not alter the circumstances of their gradual origin. To remember this is only fair to the author. Even in this book, which will probably come to be regarded as his most important and representative work, Professor Davidson has not escaped from the consequences of self-imposed limitations. Repetitions or digressions on the one hand, paragraphs in a "shorthand" style needing oral expansion on the other, remind us of the original character of the contents. Lectures written for the actual needs of the class-room are always likely to be *disjecta membra;* and the prophet himself is needed to show them rising in orderly array. But these lectures are very far from being a valley of dry bones; and although they do not cover the whole field, and we miss any comprehensive survey of it, the loss is partially atoned for by the article "Prophecy and Prophets" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.* It will be remembered that Professor Davidson there divides his subject into four groups, "The History of Prophecy," "The Prophetic Mind," "The Teaching of the Prophets," "Interpretation and Fulfilment of Prophecy". The work now before us consists of twenty-four chapters, which Professor Paterson has placed in the order that seemed to him most natural. It would have been helpful had he further classified these chapters into sections, so that the scope of the book might have been more apparent. Three such main sections naturally suggest themselves, when the chapters have been studied, *viz.*, (1) The Origins of Prophecy, (2) The Characteristics of Prophecy, (3) Studies in Prophecy. The first of these includes six shorter chapters, tracing the course of prophecy through the times of Moses, Deborah, Samuel and Saul, David and Elijah. The second contains eight chapters of greater length, dealing on the one hand with the psychology of prophecy, and on the other with those questions of style and interpretation which gather round its literary expression. The third section, about half the book, discusses some special subjects, chief amongst them being "Messianic Prophecy" and "The Servant of Jehovah". From this out-

line it will be seen that the more exact title of the book would be "Prolegomena to Prophecy". For we have here something quite different in scope and intention from the book with which comparison is naturally challenged—Robertson Smith's *The Prophets of Israel.* The latter is concerned with the history of prophecy; the present volume, even in its first section, with the theology of prophecy. We still wait for the book needed to make the triad complete, the book that will give us the anthropology of prophecy.

It is not necessary to say much of the first section. This kind of work has been done repeatedly. The chief interest of such a study of history lies in the emphasis a writer puts on any one of the various factors in the historic development. None is left in doubt as to where the emphasis falls in the present case. "The religious development of Israel is mainly a development in the idea of God. . . . When mysterious problems arose either in national or individual life, the problem was immediately reflected back upon God, and became one regarding His nature or action." Thus the idea of God becomes the dominating factor in Old Testament prophecy, which is equivalent to saying "in Old Testament history," for as is here said "The history of Israel is a history of prophecy . . . men of prophetic rank and name stand at the great turning-points of the people's life, and direct the movements" (p. 17). In a later portion of the book, the prophet's contribution to the history is thus forcibly stated: "He could foresee, because to his mind the principal, or rather the only, actor in the drama was Jehovah Himself. And his foresight of it is little else than his conception of Jehovah—of what He is and what His purposes are—flung into the wrestling mass of principles and forces which he perceived around him."

The second section, dealing with the inner and outer characteristics of prophecy, is of the highest value and importance. Our best commentaries contain much material bearing on this subject, but it is scattered in various books, and fragmentary even when gathered. Here, however, is a book that can be placed in the hands of students as an

admirable introduction to this branch of study. There are two possible lines of approach to the elusive and difficult subject of the prophetic consciousness. One is by way of anthropology. During the last generation, most of the phenomena recorded in the Old Testament have been more diligently studied in the light of parallel developments amongst other peoples. To this tendency of study we owe much, and shall eventually owe more. Whatever theory we may hold as to the Divine factor in each product, we all recognise the human. To apprehend this rightly, we need the widest possible induction from related facts. In the case of the prophetic consciousness, our study must range from highly intellectual products like the Koran to the mutterings of an African witch-doctor. But those of us who work along this line of approach are sometimes in danger of forgetting that it is not the only one. A real contribution can be made by those whose gifts of ethical and spiritual insight enable them more than most to enter into the prophetic consciousness by living sympathy. It is this line which the author specially calls us to follow. He proceeds by an examination of the various terms applied to the prophet, *viz.*, "man of God," "servant of Jehovah," "messenger of Jehovah," "interpreter," "seer," "spyer" and "watchman," "nabi'". The intellectual content of these terms is strongly emphasised. "The prophetic condition was *a state of high mental activity*, going through various grades of intensity, and of that kind of activity called *intuition*" (p. 117). Hence we obtain the following as one of several attempts to define the prophetic consciousness: "Prophecy is the intuition of truth accompanied by the feeling that the truth was immediately communicated by Jehovah" (p. 80). So it is elsewhere said: "I dislike any theory that would put any other source or means of revelation on a level with the mind of man" (p. 99). A suggestive and striking figure puts the revelation through the prophet's mind into relation with that given by other means: "There was still a living fountain out of which there welled forth God's commands, and which sent its waters down through every channel of the state, beneath the

crust of institution . . . the prophet was the point at which God's revelation and will to Israel was still, so to speak, fluid, and not congealed into institutions" (p. 107). We are taken into the mind and heart of the ancient prophet and made to feel that his conviction of God's revelation was analogous to what a man who lives with God may have today. The chief criticism suggesting itself is that the difference between ancient and modern ideas of personality is not sufficiently brought out. The ancient mind, and therefore the prophetic, was conceived to be far more accessible to external stimuli, even to stimuli that came through none of the ordinary sense organs. This important difference in the idea of self could not but influence both the prophet and his hearers. It is just here that the comparison of primitive beliefs, within and without the Semitic peoples, is of such value. We see how the crude fact of revelation became credible before the emergence of its highest proofs through the canonical prophets, and, most of all, through Christ. Given belief in what roughly corresponds to "telepathy," and allowing for Hebrew modes of thought (concrete for abstract), the message of the canonical prophets becomes as "natural" as any Divine product can ever be. For we must not forget the warning here given: "There was a connexion between the Spirit of God and the mind of the prophet, but the connexion was miraculous, and so evades definition. What is capable of definition only is the mind of the prophet" (p. 130). The remainder of this second section deals with the prophetic style and its interpretation. It is an English equivalent, on a small scale, to parts of such works as König's *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik*, and Koeberle's *Natur und Geist*. There is a careful and instructive discussion of Typology, calculated to remove some modern prejudices against the subject. The position taken by the writer can be summed up in one of his own sentences: "The way of the Lord is always typified" (p. 212). The relation of the two dispensations is thus tersely defined: "The old consists of a body and a soul, the new of a disembodied soul" (p. 241).

The rest of the book is devoted to various special studies

within the general field of prophecy. Though they afford little that is new, they will be read with interest and profit. Their author will not be remembered as a pioneer through the pathless forest, but as one who bade us stand in the old paths and see how much we should have overlooked without his aid. The chapter entitled "The Isaianic Problem" has a freshness that springs from antiquity, like that of some old-world village untouched by modern thought. The following chapter, which summarises the teaching of the canonical prophets, makes a rather surprising claim for its spiritual standard: "It may be safely said that no advance upon the doctrine of God has been made in the New Testament over the Old except in this: the Old Testament deals with Israel as a whole. . . . In the New Testament, God through Christ enters into relations with the individual" (p. 275). A most interesting chapter is that devoted to "The False Prophets". We are taught that the background of the true prophet is no dull monotone, but is full of light and shade and infinite colour. "In order to understand the Old Testament Scripture anywhere, we must endeavour to realise that there was in Israel a life as various as our own" (p. 289). As we gaze on the finished architecture of the prophet, we are apt to forget the scaffolding that was once there—"the complications in which he was involved, the popular interests that he ministered to, the struggles of opposing parties, the darkness and shadows that fell upon the leaders of the people, and perplexed their counsels and paralysed their actions" (p. 287). Messianic prophecy claims fuller attention. The Messiah is regarded as Jehovah's representative—"Jehovah's word and truth incarnate"—to the widest extent. It is later thought that systematises what has been uttered by grouping all round a single person. Distinction is drawn between direct and indirect Messianic prophecy. Prophecy demands for its fulfilment no more than the realisation of prophetic principles amongst the changed circumstances of a later age. The New Testament is fully justified in its application of prophetic anticipations to Christ: "There was an identity of Christ with all those

offices and characters, an organic connexion between Him and all this" (p. 339). In regard to the question of the time of fulfilment, stress is laid on the peculiarity of prophetic perspective. The prophet sees realities, but he sees them foreshortened. The chapters dealing with the Servant of Jehovah are of great interest. Speaking of the return from exile, Professor Davidson says: "In the outer movement Jehovah's instrument is Cyrus: in the inner movement it is the Servant of the Lord" (p. 397). By the Servant he understands an ideal Israel, not to be identified with the community of the devout, but Israel as God meant it to be. "The Servant of the Lord appears to me a similar abstraction, elevated by the singular idealisation of the prophet into a Being, and distinguished from the individuals or the tribes of Jacob, the fragments of the people in all lands. This Being does not belong to the Israel of any particular age, He is permanent" (p. 437). He admits, however, the difficulty of forming any clear conception of the Servant on this theory; and in practice, his discussion of the Servant's work is really concerned with the faithful nucleus, actually present throughout Israel's history. In regard to the work of the Servant, there is a luminous and stimulating inquiry into the function of vicarious suffering, which ought to receive careful attention from some of our New Testament theologians. The visible suffering of the Servant is made the basis of appeal for belief in the Divine forgiveness of sin. This is the simple fact, which the Bible sets over against the conviction of sin as the Divine answer to the cry of the heart.

In the foregoing notice of a book which every student of the Old Testament will desire to possess, the aim has been rather to give a definite idea of its contents than to attempt to pass judgment on them. Many of the positions taken are of course open to criticism, but the criticism would be prompted by our own theological prepossessions rather than by our consideration of the book itself. We have here the simple and clear statement of a definite theological position in regard to the Old Testament. It is set before us with the qualities of expression and insight which have come to be

associated with the author. Here are patient explanation (*cf.* the examination of unpromising theories in the chapter on "The Restoration of the Jews"), use of striking illustration, the frank facing of difficulties characteristic of the genuine teacher. Even the "formlessness" of some parts is impressive from this standpoint. No facts are sacrificed to get artistic unity. There are many digressions from the main theme, but none will wish them away. The remark was made of a current philosophical work that it was redeemed by its digressions; it is the last thing we need to say of this work, where the digressions must and do redeem themselves. But of greater value than all else are those moral and spiritual qualities which make themselves felt at every opportunity. College lectures are often disappointing. But of these we may say that they give us the clue to that reverence in which the writer has for so long been held by his pupils. The book will take its place as one of the best memorials of a scholar who was also a man of God. Many must have said, and through this noble book will say through a wider circle, what was once uttered of a greater Teacher: "Did not our heart burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the Scriptures?"

H. Wheeler Robinson.

Library of Philosophy.

Edited by J. H. Muirhead, M.A. Contemporary Psychology, by Guido Villa, Lecturer on Philosophy in the University of Rome, revised by the author, and translated with his permission by Harold Manacorda, Attaché to the Italian Embassy in Paris. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 396. *Price* 10s. 6*d. net.*

THE volumes of the *Library of Philosophy*, edited by Professor Muirhead, appear somewhat slowly, but they do appear. Usually when they appear we find that they are worth waiting for. We confess that we have a feeling of impatience, as we look at the titles of the volumes in preparation, for they are books on topics we desire to have discussed, and by men whose work we long to study. We should like to read Dr. Ward on Epistemology, and Professor Mackenzie on First Principles of Philosophy, and other promised volumes of the *Library of Philosophy*. All things, it is proverbially said, come to him that can wait, but that is a slight consolation for the man who waits.

The volume on Contemporary Psychology now before us has many features of interest, each of which is sufficient to secure for it a warm welcome from the student of psychology. It is the work of a thoroughly competent student, of one who knows thoroughly the past history and present state of the science with which he deals, who is himself a worker in the science, and who has done somewhat to advance it. He wields a graceful pen, and the translator has rendered it into clear and fluid English, and we can read it as if it were a work written in our own tongue. A further feature of interest is the history of psychology during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the graphic descriptions of the various writers who have made their mark in

psychology. But we shall not further describe the features of interest present in the volume. We proceed to the volume itself.

The Introduction is a clear, though brief bit of work, and its function is to set forth the problem of the work. It describes the vaguer uses of the word psychology in its implicates, and leads us gradually to a scientific description of the science, its content, and its method. Our space will not be wasted if we make the following quotation: "The marvellous development in the last century of the moral, *i.e.*, the historical, philological, social and juridical sciences, arising in great part from their adoption of rigorous scientific methods and the accumulation of a mass of material, is one of the striking features of nineteenth-century learning, and has been a potent factor in the formation of a distinct science of the mind. Each separate science such as history, philology in its numerous branches, sociology, political economy, statistics and law, has accumulated by degrees a vast mass of facts which possess the common characteristic of being pre-eminently products of the human mind. These sciences, though connected with the physical sciences and in a manner dependent on the data furnished by them, study particularly the psychic aspect of human nature in all its manifestations, so that one might say with truth that the moral sciences, though connected in a way with the natural sciences, form a whole and distinct system in themselves. The moral sciences having detached themselves from philosophy in order to be placed on an empirical basis, have succeeded in obtaining, by means of the historical method, the results with which we are acquainted. And it was naturally to be expected that this should have gradually led to the adoption of the objective method, not only with regard to the concrete manifestations of the mind, which form the object of the so-called moral sciences, but also with regard to the psychic phenomena in the more general and abstract form. The general science of psychic phenomena aims at formulating the fundamental laws of all moral facts, and giving to the moral sciences a unity similar to that enjoyed by the physical.

Those who first studied the problem of the logical methods of the moral sciences were in hopes of founding a general science of human nature (as Mr. Mill terms it), by which alone historical and social events could be scientifically explained. This is precisely what psychology professes to do, seeing that the different moral sciences are not content with empirical research, but are anxious to examine mutual relations and to give a psychological explanation to every historical and social fact—in other words, to make psychology the foundation of their own superstructure" (pp. 6, 7).

The main purpose of the author is to produce a work which will serve as a critical and historical introduction to the study of modern psychology. How the problems of contemporary psychology arose, how they are related to general philosophy, to natural science, to the social and moral sciences, and what aspects they assume in the various scientific systems of the present day, is the subject of the work. It may be said, without reserve, that the work is well done. Whether we agree with the author, or differ from him, we find his work most helpful; in fact, it may be said to be indispensable to a serious student of psychology. The statement holds good, whether we have regard to the chapter on the historical development of psychology, or to the more constructive parts of the work. The historical part begins with the seventeenth century. We have brief yet adequate descriptions and characterisations of the views of Descartes, Spinoza, Locke, Leibniz, Wolff, Tetens, Berkeley, Hume, in fact there are sufficient descriptions of the psychological work of all significant writers on psychology, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Passing to the early part of the nineteenth century, Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Beneke, Cabanis, De Biran, Jouffroy, Galuppi, Rosmini, Comte, Hamilton, and J. S. Mill are passed in review, their positions indicated, and their work estimated. Then he passes to what he regards as the rise of modern psychology. It gives a clue to the main position of the author, and to his point of view when we find that the rise of modern psychology is dated from the works of Bain and Spencer. It is rather

flattering to an inhabitant of these islands to find such a conclusion set forth by an Italian author, and from his point of view not without cause. The writers on modern psychology enumerated by the author are Lotze, Weber, Fechner, Wundt, Horwicz, Spencer, Bain, Bailey, Lewes, Maudsley, Charles Darwin, and for the psychology of peoples he gives another list of authors. It is an account of these writers which is at once condensed and luminous. The student will find the author to be a guide well-informed, judicious and interesting.

In a succession of chapters the author sets forth the problems of modern psychology. The Object and Scope of Psychology, Mind and Body, the Methods of Psychology, Psychical Functions, on the Composition and Development of Mental Life, Consciousness, the Laws of Psychology, are the topics he discusses in the volume. These are not discussed as if the author were writing an independent treatise on them. They are set forth as the problems of modern psychology, and the aim is to describe how they are treated by the various writers whose works he deals with, and what solutions are set forth by the schools of philosophy in the end of the nineteenth century. No writer of note is neglected, if he has had something relevant to say; no nation is neglected; in fact, it is quite a cosmopolitan handbook. The reader, if he masters the book, will be up to date.

A critical estimate of the work is not possible here, nor is it possible to dwell on many things which attracted our attention as we read the book. As regards the general result of the whole investigation we give the following quotation: "Consciousness and animal organism, function and organ, are correlative terms, the one of which cannot be thought of without implying the other. It is therefore certain that organic evolution is closely connected with psychological evolution; for the organ to become modified it is necessary for the function to have become transformed. Psychological laws, however, find in this necessary co-ordination with mechanical laws a limitation to their development, just as the extension of mechanical laws finds a limitation in the will

of the animate being. This limitation, however, is not to be understood in the sense that these two series of laws cease at a given point of their evolution to follow their respective courses in order to mingle one with the other. On the contrary, psychological laws always follow their own course, and mechanical laws theirs: in physical nature there is no place for liberty, just as in the chain of mental causality a mechanical order is inadmissible. Thus, when man wishes to influence external nature, he endeavours to apply his own ideas to it; but so far from trying to change the inner essence of physical laws, he endeavours to understand their inner workings so as to guide them to his advantage. From this it follows that the increase of mental energy is subject to the physical conditions of life. In the psychophysical individual this interdependence of the laws of volition and matter is closer than elsewhere, but its nature remains the same. Briefly, in all investigations of physical and psychical facts, it must be constantly borne in mind that they are mutually dependent and connected in one all-embracing unity" (p. 384).

While there are some positions advocated by our author of the validity of which we are by no means sure, there are other positions which we believe to be of great and permanent worth. One of these is the vindication of the teleological character of psychological principles. A change has passed over the mind of man from the time when Bacon described final causes as vestal virgins who produced no fruit, when in pretended humility Descartes refused to think of them, and Spinoza declared them to be founded on illusions. More recently teleology was declared with great solemnity to have received its death-blow at the hands of Darwinism, and here it appears reinstated in more than its pristine splendour, and psychological principles are declared to be teleological. The whirligig of time brings about its revenges.

A result of the author's investigation is the description of the growth of psychology, and the recognition of its claims to be an independent science. He describes the process of its separation from philosophy, and its gradual emancipation

from it. He describes also the process of its separation from physiology, if indeed this separation can be described as complete. Our author thinks that the separation ought to be regarded as complete. The phenomena of consciousness, he thinks, and rightly, is essentially different from corporeal phenomena, though closely connected with them. But the process of emancipation from philosophy and physiology, and its recognition of its claims to be an independent science, led the way to further efforts, and to conquests of a noted kind. "Psychology is becoming always more intimately connected with the moral sciences, owing to the fact that, in spite of all attempts at confining themselves exclusively to biological methods, these sciences have had to recognise in psychology the starting-point of all studies dealing with the various products of consciousness."

"The physical world is subject to mechanical laws; the mental world, on the contrary, is spontaneous and independent. Mental energy is continually on the increase, and is the product of a conscious activity, and not an inscrutable force to which free will is foreign. History, society, art, religion, and science are the result of a continuous and incessant action which has no precise limits, and which, issuing from the untrammelled will, is the expression of the noblest and most elevated part in man. The spiritual world exists by itself, as a psychical reality, as positive and real as any material reality. Ideas, feelings, acts of willing, and even the simplest sensations are all *sui generis*, and cannot be compared to physical phenomena" (p. 392). Such is the conclusion set forth in the last page of the book as the result of the historical and scientific investigation conducted by the author, and it is a statement which a reader may well ponder.

James Iverach.

Die Religion des Neuen Testaments.

Von D. Bernhard Weiss. Stuttgart: Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1903. Pp. xii. + 321. *Price* 6*s.*; 7*s.* 6*d. bound.*

THIS volume may be regarded as the last fruit of an old tree. The veteran exegete sums up the results of his life-study of New Testament theology in the form of a rounded doctrinal system. If only for the perfect mastery shown of every word and idea of New Testament teaching, the work is a memorable one. Nothing relevant to the topic in hand is forgotten, and nothing is out of place. The order and unity are so perfect and natural that we forget that the material lies in Scripture in unconnected form. We may often challenge the interpretation given, but at least we admire the consummate ability with which the argument is conducted. After the introduction in four chapters has discussed the prolegomena, the work proceeds to expound in three parts the Presuppositions of Salvation, the Salvation in Christ, and its Realisation, in sixteen chapters. Dr. Weiss takes a very free view of inspiration, if he holds any doctrine of special inspiration at all. He also maintains the offer of salvation after death for those who did not receive it in this life; he maintains this as a self-evident postulate of reason and justice, although Scripture says nothing on the subject and does not profess to do so. He emphasises the point that Christ's resurrection was not one to earthly, but to heavenly life. We instance these cases as examples of matters requiring consideration. As to the great essentials of faith, the great exegete is clear and strong. The section on the atoning death of the Saviour is very full and explicit. It concludes thus: "In point of fact, this Gospel of the cross conquered the world, not the preaching of God's fatherly love and the love of our neighbour . . . this death of necessity formed

the centre of the Apostolic message of salvation, and so it must remain in the religion of the New Testament". The compressed style in which the Scripture proofs are massed together after a brief indication of the contents is very forcible. "In His exaltation Christ is already (James v. 7) the Lord absolutely, in no other sense than that in which in the Old Testament the Lord is the specific name of God, in which account also Old Testament passages which speak of the Lord in this sense are directly transferred to the exalted Christ." Then follow instances. "In the Thessalonian epistles especially it is often hard to decide whether by the Lord is meant God or Christ." "It is a complete error to place the religion of the New Testament in opposition to the Old Testament religion in which the fear of God prevailed. . . . What Paul opposes to the filial trust, with which we call on God's fatherly love, is such fear as dominated the readers in their former heathen state, in which they were always in terror of the capricious vengeance of their gods."

J. S. Banks.

The Note-Line in the Hebrew Scriptures commonly called Pāsēq or Pĕsîq.

By James Kennedy, D.D., Acting-Librarian in New College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903. *Price 4s. 6d. net.*

Dr. Kennedy, since he entered on his theological studies, has grown up in the Semitic atmosphere which has pervaded the New College, Edinburgh, from the days of Rabbi Duncan, who made a sort of idol of Linguistics (his own expression). The genial librarian has not lived his Semitic life in vain. Years ago he gave us in an English dress the syntax part of Ewald's great work on Hebrew Grammar. This was followed by an *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew*—a valuable work for students desirous of becoming good Hebrew scholars. Later on appeared a volume on Hebrew synonyms, full of interesting and suggestive matter. And now a volume from his pen appears which, though not large (only 129 pages, appendix and index included), represents an amount of patient labour which can be appreciated by those alone who have seriously attempted to grapple with the mysteries of the Massoretic text of the Old Testament. The *note-line*, as Dr. Kennedy designates the Hebrew textual mark, discussed in this volume is the pāsēq or pĕsîq of Hebrew grammars. The mark is a short perpendicular line, the same in form as *Metheg* and *Sillûq;* and, like almost everything else connected with the Old Testament, the use of it is more or less disputed. Dr. Kennedy's explanation of its function is a reasonable one. According to him, it is not a part of the accentual system proper. It does not divide a verse, or a part of a verse, as a disjunctive, in order to indicate the sense; nor is it intended to assist in the cantillation of the Scriptures for synagogue purposes. Further, it is the earliest

mark added by the scribes to the sacred consonants of which the Old Testament text originally consisted. The object in view of those who introduced the mark is essentially of the same kind as that served later on by the *qerî*. In other words, the mark is intended to call attention to some peculiar form of word, or scription, or construction. But when pāsēq was introduced the time had not come to render such help to a perplexed student of Old Testament Scripture as is afforded by the *qerî*. Reverence for the sacred text prevented that. Learned scribes perceived the difficulties in the way of students; and thus felt free to note them in the text—but only in a way which could neither be misunderstood, nor give offence. This was done by inserting a short perpendicular, the simplest kind of mark beyond the sacred consonants themselves.

Such, substantially, is Dr. Kennedy's view; and he supports it by references carefully selected from the books of the Old Testament. Pāsēq is not in any proper sense a distinctive accent. But, unfortunately, it received a name which suggested a distinctive function. It was found in MSS. used by the Massoretes, and through these devout students it has been transmitted to us, demanding explanation, and suggesting (as what Old Testament subject does not?) speculation.

Dr. Kennedy's little volume is a model of its kind. The author states the question fairly, gives his own view distinctly, and supports it by references to passages which exhibit the various usages of the note-line. The work is not one to quote from; but the value of the book itself and the industry of the author may be gathered from the appendix, in which are placed all the passages in the Old Testament books in which the pāsēq occurs. It would add considerably to the usefulness of the volume if, in this appendix, the pages were given in which at least the principal texts are discussed.

Geo. G. Cameron.

Von Soden's Greek Testament.

Von Soden's Greek Testament. Vol. I., Part I. Die Schriften des neuen Testaments in ihren ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte, von Dr. Theol. Hermann Freiherr von Soden. Band I.: Erste Abtheilung. Berlin: Alexander Duncker, 1902. *Large* 8*vo*, pp. xvi. + 704. *Price of complete work, M.*50.

THE latest attempt to throw further light on the problems of the New Testament text is contained in Von Soden's monumental work, of which the first half-volume, containing some 700 pages, appeared at the end of last year. It is the result of fifteen years' labour, and one remembers that Westcott and Hort took twice as long to cover a smaller field of material. Von Soden, however, has had the advantage of having his undertaking financed by the wealthy German lady, Fraülein Elise Koenigs, to whom he dedicates his book; and so, at every point, he has been able to command the assistance of skilled collaborators in his researches in home and foreign libraries.

Only praise can be given to the marvellous industry and care with which an enormous amount of data has been brought together, and to the heroic patience which this work must have demanded. In the meantime it is necessary to await the constructive pages before attempting to estimate the services rendered to New Testament scholarship. Yet some interesting things are contained in this preliminary instalment, and in the forty pages regarding the section on the woman taken in adultery we have a sample of his critical method.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the book is the rather questionable departure it makes from previous custom in designating the MSS. Von Soden objects to the hap-

hazard growth of the present system of nomenclature, and, as champion of the cursives, will not allow the right of the uncials to arrogate to themselves titles like ℵ, A, B, and leave only small numerals to the others. He will abandon this arrangement and give to each document a designation fixed by its date and contents. Thus each MS. of the whole New Testament is noted by the letter δ (from *διαθήκη*); those containing gospels only, by ε (from *εναγγελιον*); those containing apostolic writings, by *α*. Besides this letter, each MS. has a number made up of one figure for its date, and one to distinguish it individually. The notation is very complicated. As a simple illustration we may take this: ε 315 means a codex of the thirteenth century containing the Gospels, and distinguished from others of that description as number 15. The disadvantages, however, of changing a well-known system are great, and further, the first figure of each formula, that involving the date, must very frequently be open to dispute; it is often a mere dictum of a palæographist who has been asked to report on the matter, and concerning whose principles of judgment we have no information.

The reader's curiosity is at once stimulated by the prefatory remarks regarding previous textual criticism. The "superstitious veneration" for the uncials ℵ and B, and the "unwarranted" depreciation of D 33 and the Fathers are remarked on. A direct attack is thus made on Westcott and Hort's view of the "neutral" text, and further, their procedure in setting aside the mass of the cursives is said to have had quite inadequate grounds. In fact, the cardinal point of von Soden's position is, that a proper study of the whole mass of the cursives will carry us back in the history of the text beyond the time of the great uncial MSS. hitherto regarded as our ultimate authorities. Nothing less than this thorough examination of the enormous mass of cursives is the task which von Soden has undertaken. Some would consider a new investigation of the versions to be a more promising line of research, and the section of the next half-volume dealing with these will be looked for with

special interest, although it seems to occupy an inconspicuous place in the table of contents.

The present volume is devoted almost entirely to lists of documents, with explanations and notes regarding them. First comes a list of MSS. containing the New Testament text, then a list of commentaries with text, then a list of superscriptions and subscriptions and other notices found in MSS., but foreign to the text. Dr. von Soden uses this last list in discussing the relations of documents; for he is inclined to give some weight as evidence of common ancestry to similarity in such introductory or final remarks—which correspond to modern title pages or prefaces—and to the agreement of MSS., in noting the chapter divisions or Eusebian canons. This is an argument requiring to be used with much caution. For while there is always a balance of odds that a copyist will reproduce a given feature of his copy, yet, on the other hand, the execution of a new copy is just the most favourable opportunity for introducing a new feature like the canons, or obliterating a feature no longer desired.

Only in one section of this volume do we see von Soden actually in grips with his material. He remarks that the character of the text in the interpolation, John vii. 53 to viii. 11—which he calls μ (from $\mu o \iota \chi a \lambda \iota s$)—is often an index to the kind of text in the whole document in which it is found, and so he sets to work to unravel the relations of the text of this *pericope* in the 1000 manuscripts containing the passage. "Nothing," he remarks, "could at first look more hopeless, and if this puzzle is disentangled we may feel in good heart to face the larger one of the New Testament text in general." We are not so sure that von Soden has got rid of that "if".

His first step is to distinguish the two prevailing types of text in the Middle Ages. These he calls, in the light of the final result, μ^5 and μ^6. They are not the exact text of any existing documents, but are the texts which he holds to be the basis of that contained in a large number. There is no doubt that two or three hundred MSS. have a text

assignable to one of these two types. Now, have μ^5 and μ^6 influenced each other? At first it seems so, for there are six places in μ^6 where μ^5 is largely followed. But the μ^6 documents which agree in following μ^5 at one place, diverge from each other in other places, proving that μ^5 has not exercised its influence on μ^6 all at once, or through one ancestor, but sporadically through isolated copies. Our attention is next directed to the form of text for which we possess the earliest evidence, that lying in Codex Bezæ—$\delta 5$ or, more familiarly, D--and a few related MSS. He reaches the important result that this group shows here and there the influence of μ^5 and μ^6; in general, however, it contains an older text, μ^1. This text is seen in some cases to explain both μ^5 and μ^6; for example, in 8^{10} *τῃ γυναικι* of δ 5 is an early addition to the abrupt *που εἰσιν*, and had to be given up again when μ^5 and μ^6 made additions of their own; in μ^6 which inserts *εἰδεν αὐτην*, we have simply *γυναι*, and in μ^5 which inserts *μηδενα θεασαμενος πλην της γυναικος*, the next clause has necessarily simply *αὐτῃ*. Behind this early type we have μ^0, the most original text attainable, differing but slightly from μ^1. There are also three others, μ^2 closely related to μ^0, μ^3 related to μ^2, and μ^4, the text of the Ferrar group, and finally μ^7, a late redaction combining μ^5 and μ^6. Looking now at the table of variants which is exhibited, these results are seen to emerge: μ^5 and μ^6 are independent of each other; μ^5 is a derivative of μ^3, for the several considerable divergences are due, not to another genuine ancestor of μ^5, but to a late corrector; μ^5 is unrelated to μ^1 or μ^2; μ^6 depends on μ^4 and on μ^2, and is independent of μ^1 and μ^3; μ^4 and μ^3 are inter-related, and also depend on μ^2; μ^3 may be related to μ^1, but μ^2 is the only type that certainly depends on μ^1. But many of these judgments are made on a balance of evidence, and go against some of the data. The whole result is finally set forth in a diagram. It may be doubted if an elaborate result like this, involving a series of nice decisions into which the personal equation largely enters, can possess any real stability.

Von Soden is really attempting to trace the text apart from the actual documents containing it. But a real history of the text must be a history of the documents. Von Soden calls his work an exhibition of the form of the text based on the history of the text. It would be equally true to call it a history of the text based on the various forms in which it is handed down. He does not, in these pages at any rate, get his history from outside considerations like the geographical distribution of MSS. or the known origins of versions, and then use such independent results as a basis for deciding regarding various readings. Yet this is the only method that could yield any real certainty. As long as the history of the text has itself to be gathered from the criticism of various readings on the ground of internal probability, the reconstruction of the original text cannot be undertaken with hope of reaching a definite and final conclusion.

Robert W. Stewart.

Funk's Patres Apostolici.

Patres Apostolici, edidit F. X. Funk. Vol. I. Tubingæ, in libraria: H. Laupp, MDCCCCI.; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. cli.+688. *Price M.*10.

Funk is perhaps the best known of that school of Roman Catholic patristic scholars in Germany and Austria which seeks historical truth for its own sake and by genuinely historical methods. To it belonged F. X. Kraus, and to it still belong Bardenhewer and Ehrhard—to name only its most considerable members—men who understand history as did Döllinger and those who became known as Old Catholics after the Vatican Council of 1870. Their work is marked by thorough knowledge of the literature of their subject in all its branches, and by real appreciation of the contributions made to it by Protestant scholars, no less than by those of their own communion. Thus it comes about that the volume before us may be regarded as the most compact and trustworthy *Corpus Patrum Apostolicorum* at present available. It is terser than the great edition of Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn—of which it makes good use—and has the advantage of all the research that has gone on since 1877. In particular Funk has studied Lightfoot's work diligently, and as a rule acquiesces in its results. His views, then, may be taken as those of a sober, progressive criticism; and this edition forms an excellent starting-point for those beginning such studies, while yet it will repay even the specialists who consult it.

The work is written in readable Latin, and its prolegomena embrace all the main topics introductory to each writing, *viz.*, the Didache, Barnabas, I. and II. Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Mart. Polycarpi, Papiæ Fragmenta, Quadrati Fragmenta, Presbyteri apud Irenæum, ad Diognetum, Hermas. The following are some of the more distinctive of Funk's

positions. The Didache he places first in time, *i.e.*, *c.* 80-90, but differs from most scholars in denying that the "Two Ways" existed apart at an earlier date. He thinks these ethical precepts were afterwards separated for catechetical purposes, a position which forces him to make the surprising statement that the most Christian precepts, now found in *Did.* i. 3-5, were left out as "less fit" for such a use. It is possible that a more adequate study of the Latin version of the "Two Ways," recently published by Schlecht and utilised in his own *apparatus criticus*, would lead our author to reconsider his solution of this literary problem. Barnabas he places under Nerva; but can thus render no account of the three kings humbled at one stroke (τρεῖς ὑφ' ἕν)—a really crucial point, in that the author added it to a nominal quotation to help his readers to the right solution. But Funk argues well against the later dates based on the reference in chap. xvi. to an expected rebuilding of the Jewish temple, "cum auctor, Judæis spem templi restituendi semper alentibus, etiam ante Hadrianum illo modo loqui potuerit". Thus nothing stands in the way of a date under Vespasian, as Weizsäcker, Lightfoot and Ramsay reckon in slightly different forms, save Funk's dubious theory as to the priority of our Didache, as distinct from the "Two Ways". For I. Clement use is here made of the Latin version published in 1894; but perhaps hardly enough weight is allowed it in deciding between variant readings. As to II. Clement, Funk agrees generally with Lightfoot, for instance in taking its reference to "sailing to the games" as almost proving Corinth to have been the place where the homily was first delivered. The passage will not bear the strain of such an argument; and indeed it seems very doubtful whether, in view of its probable use of the gospel according to the Egyptians, if not of a second apocryphal gospel, we should not look in another quarter than either Corinth or Rome for the home of this archaic sermon. In dealing with the phrase Ἰγνάτιος ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, Funk takes *Theophorus* as a second or Greek proper name, not as a descriptive surname, and gives good reasons for so doing.

Funk's handling of the famous fragment of Papias touching "John the Elder" merits notice. A good case is made for preferring Irenæus to Eusebius as an interpreter of Papias' meaning, and he concludes against the existence of a second John, at least in Papias, "ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης indicat apostolum Joannem κατ' ἐξοχήν a suis πρεσβύτερον appellatum fuisse, et locus accurate interpretandus est, *et senior, scilicet* (vel. qui vocatur) *Joannes*". Clearly πρεσβύτερος was a term of wide and varied connotation in primitive Christianity, and Irenæus was far more likely to appreciate this than Eusebius, especially when the latter had a prejudice touching Papias to deflect his usually clear vision. But, on the other hand, Eusebius is deliberately correcting Irenæus' reading, which makes a difference; and one cannot imagine Papias naming the apostle John *after* Aristion. Again, is Funk right in placing Papias' book as late as A.D. *c.* 130 (with Lightfoot and many others)? To judge from the place which Eusebius assigns to him in his *History*, *viz.*, along with Ignatius (iii. 36, 1) in the age of Trajan, and before several references to his closing years and death (iv. 1-3), it would seem that Eusebius at least did not think so; and he had every motive to put him as far from the Johannine age as possible. Certainly Funk is mistaken[1] in relying on Philip of Side to prove that Papias wrote *non ante Hadriani regnum*. After some excerpts in *Cod. Baroccianus* 142, traceable to him and containing statements drawn from Papias, the last of which relates to the mother of Manaïmus (Menahem), τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστᾶσαν, we get another jotting, disconnected save as to subject, περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντων ὅτι ἕως Ἀδριανοῦ ἔζων. The very form of the sentence betrays its nature as a summary, based on Eusebius' section on Quadratus and his apology (iv. 3); and the MS. itself hints at the fact by a red dot separating the words from what precedes. Accordingly there seems no valid ground for putting Papias' Ἐξηγήσεις later than Trajan's reign, or at any rate as late

[1] Professor B. W. Bacon makes the same mistake in his paper on "Recent Aspects of the Johannine Problem," in the *Hibbert Journal*, i., 512.

as A.D. 130. But, apart from this, Funk's notes on the various fragments of Papias and the *Presbyteri apud Irenæum* (who are discriminated more carefully than is common) are most useful. As regards *The Shepherd of Hermas*, which he places *sedente Pio*, our editor has given a good deal of attention to the text, using the Berlin papyrus of *Sim.* ii. 7-10, iv. 2-5, as well as Dr. Armitage Robinson's collation of the Athos MS. and Schnell's fresh collation of the Palatine form of the Latin version. But even his vigilance has overlooked the fragment of *Mand.* xi. 9-10, printed in the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, i. 190. And now we are able to point to a yet more important find due to the same source, *viz.*, some fragments of the lost Greek ending of Hermas, just published by Grenfell and Hunt in *Oxyr. Pap.* iii. These contain the bulk of *Sim.* x. 3, 2-5, and demonstrate that Simonides' Greek text of this part was the forgery it was already judged to be.

One principle of this otherwise excellent edition—and we have now the notes in view, as well as the introductions—is to be regretted for the sake of all save beginners; our editor places opposite the original text a modern Latin translation (for the most part his own), even in those cases where an ancient Latin version is extant. This greatly detracts from the completeness of an otherwise wonderfully self-sufficing manual. The only slip in reproducing an authority which we have noted is on p. lxxviii. There Polycrates of Ephesus is said to have succeeded seven of his kinsmen in the episcopate of that city, whereas he really claims only to have succeeded to some of the seven, the rest having been bishops elsewhere (*Eus.* v. 24, 6). There are indices of Scripture passages (which perhaps err on the side of inclusion) and also serviceable, though brief, *Indices Vocabulorum*. The second volume, including unauthentic Acts of Martyrdom of Clement and Ignatius, the Pseudo-Clementine Epistles *On Virginity*, and the Pseudo-Ignatian Epistles, has not reached the present reviewer.

VERNON BARTLET.

The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi. By Stanley A. Cook, M.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. + 307. Price 6s. net.

Widespread interest has naturally been excited by the discovery about a year ago of the remarkable series of legal enactments of very ancient date at the great mound known as the Acropolis of Susa. The questions raised by that discovery are of far-reaching importance, and the attention of many scholars has been given to their solution. Already a very considerable literature has grown up around these Laws: to which weighty contributions have been made by Scheil, Winckler, Jeremias, Orelli, Mr. C. H. W. Johns and others. We are already in possession of three translations of the Code and of valuable discussions of particular points connected with it. Other publications are promised us by the University of Chicago and by various scholars. Meanwhile Mr. Cook gives us a volume which will be of much use to the English student.

His chief aim in writing this book is, he tells us, "to provide a full account of the contents of the recently discovered Babylonian Code of Laws, promulgated in the twenty-third century before Christ by Hammurabi, the king whose name has been identified with Amraphel, the contemporary of Abraham" (Gen. xiv.). We may at once say that the book well fulfils its declared object. It would have been better, it must be added, if much more time had been spent on the style, for the volume is not very attractive in that respect. It is sometimes obscure and involved where a little pains might have made things very different. But it is full of matter. Its estimates and judgments are sober and well considered, and it comes very opportunely.

The story of the discovery of the Code is briefly told; a synopsis of its contents is given, and the questions relating to Hammurabi are stated. The influence of Babylonia over Canaan is next considered, the conclusion being reached that neither Babylonia nor Arabia would have been likely to "influence Israel to such an extent as to impose upon it a code of laws representing a stage of society which the Israelites had scarcely reached before the Exile". The various enactments in the Code are then examined in detail, much space, perhaps disproportionate space, being given to those referring to family life. In the chapters dealing with these various provisions we get much interesting matter. Some important comparisons are instituted between the Babylonian legislation and the Mosaic, the latter being looked at always from the standpoint of the critical reconstruction.

The general result is that, while in many points the two Codes resemble each other in a striking way, there are important differences. There are similarities in the legal formulation, in phraseology and in various groups of laws. There are differences at the same time which Mr. Cook carefully points out, even in some of the provisions which have a large general resemblance. The Babylonian Code further deals only with matters of civil law, and, strictly speaking, should be brought into comparison not with the legislation of Israel as a whole, but only with the original Book of the Covenant. The conclusion to which Mr. Cook comes after his detailed study of the Code is in harmony with the provisional conclusion to which the general historical position of the two peoples pointed, *viz.*, that the Israelite legislation was not "to any considerable extent indebted to the Babylonian," and that the parables and analogies which have been observed are "to be ascribed most naturally to the common Semitic origin of the two systems". The view of Joh. Jeremias, who would explain the likeness between the two Codes by a common *Arabian* origin, is also noticed. But Mr. Cook is not of opinion that there is anything to prove direct borrowing from Arabia. He would rather say that "Arabia, which

has best preserved Semitic characteristics, continued to retain the primitive principles of law and justice which the Semites of Babylonia and Canaan developed in different directions". This is the just view to take in the present state of inquiry. The notion that there has been direct borrowing on the part of one religion from another has been disproved in too many cases to make it reasonable, in view of what we possess at present in the way of evidence, to leap to the conclusion that Israel was in this sense Babylonia's debtor or even Arabia's. The enormous influence asserted by Friedrich Delitzsch and others to have been exerted by ancient Babylonia over early Israel, and the dependence of the latter upon the former, even in its doctrine of God, are positions supported as yet by nothing that would be accepted as *proof* in any other line of inquiry.

S. D. F. Salmond.

The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.

The Song of Songs, with Introduction and Notes. By the Rev. Andrew Harper, D.D., Principal of St. Andrew's College, within the University of Sydney, and Professor of Hebrew. Cambridge: University Press, 1902. *Extra Fcap. 8vo,* pp. li. + 96. *Price* 1s. 6*d. net.*

Many students of the Old Testament can never forget the thrill of delight with which they first read the volume of Ewald's *Dichter des alten Bundes* which contains his exposition of the Song of Songs. Then felt they "like some watcher of the skies when a new planet swims into his ken". A book which had been obscure and uninteresting became to them the most enthralling of romances. Its dramatic unity, its lyric splendour, its noble ethical motive were suddenly revealed to them. They had no prejudice to overcome, no traditional view to discard, before they could accept the modern interpretation. The younger generation never had the fortune or misfortune to hear the old order of communion addresses based upon the mystical understanding of the Song of Songs. For them this Scripture was simply one of those books which were never read, far less expounded, in church. It was a sealed book, waiting for some one to break the seal.

The seal is now broken, and many sermons are, or ought to be, derived from this admirable product of the inspired Hebrew mind. The message of the book was never more needed than it is in the present age. The author regards pure human love as an infinitely sacred thing—"a very flame of the Lord"—and it is this conception which makes the song an essentially religious poem. The idea that the writer, while composing this work, had constantly in view the love of Jehovah for His people, or of Christ for His

Church, has ceased to be credible. It is quite another thing to say that all kinds of pure love, divine and human, are intimately akin, and may be used to illustrate each other. The author of the Song, with his lofty ideal of human love, would of course have been the last to deny this; but there is really no evidence that he ever had this idea before his mind, or that he expected or desired his poem to be used for the purposes of religious illustration. His poetry is "simple, sensuous, passionate," as Milton said that poetry should be; and the motive of the poem is the victory of pure, intense, human love, kindled by Jehovah, over the artificial seductions of unholy passion and degrading luxury. To all his reason the Hebrew poet says, in the language of the refrain which he puts into the mouth of the Shulammite, "I adjure you . . . that ye stir not up nor awaken love until it please".

Professor Harper's edition of the Song will be read by all Old Testament students with pleasure and gratitude. Its qualities of first-rate scholarship may be taken for granted. Its admirable literary style, its breadth of sympathy, its perfect appreciation of the moral ideal of the poem, are features for which we are still more thankful. Professor Harper has a clear-sightedness and sure-footedness which save him alike from the illusions of the older expositors and from the vagaries of the newer. On the whole he is at one with Ewald in his conception of the plan and purpose of the Song. "We agree," he writes, "with those who say it was what we should have expected among a people so penetrated with ethical and religious principles as the Hebrew people were, that the relation between the sexes should have been rightly set forth, and lifted above the degradation of mere sensualism and polygamy." The fresh translation which Professor Harper gives in the Appendix, supplying indications of changes of scene, names of speakers, and other external helps, render the Song at once intelligible as a dramatic unity. This edition should make the modern conception of the poem not merely tolerable, but acceptable and even entrancing to thousands of fresh readers.

Professor Harper is capable of appreciating the mystical

element, which undoubtedly pervades much of the love-poetry of the Easterns. He reminds us of the fact that Goethe's genius found itself at home in this element. He can also read the famous sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux with enjoyment. He will not admit that nothing more need be said about the old mode of interpretation than that "it was all a regrettable blunder". "But the question remains whether the allegorical interpretation of the Song of Songs is likely to persist in the Church, now that its spiritual reference is recognised as in some sort only secondary, and its ethical meaning has been made clear. That may be doubted." And, as a matter of fact, in his "Notes" Professor Harper gives no single specimen of the allegorical mode of interpretation. He evidently feels that mysticism is here quite unnecessary. It was "the intoxication of first love" that "inspired such a glorious song as we have here". "The Shulammite is all the while exhibiting the higher qualities of love, superiority to sense, fidelity in temptation, and that tender brooding of the imagination on the loved one, which lifts even common natures to heights they would never otherwise attain."

We are exceedingly grateful to Professor Harper for his second Appendix, in which he subjects Budde's commentary on the Song to a minute and searching analysis. About five years ago Budde propounded the theory that the Canticles are merely a miscellaneous collection of popular wedding chants, carelessly strung together and devoid of moral purpose, such as are heard at the seven days' marriage-feasts of the peasantry of the trans-Jordanic and trans-Lebanon districts at the present day. One could not wish a finer piece of historical and literary criticism than Professor Harper's refutation of this theory. After reading it we are left with the impression that the German commentator is a man of "almost miraculous ingenuity," but of somewhat defective literary and ethical insight. If we cannot accept the allegorical exegesis, still less are we attracted by his sensuous interpolations. "The balsam beds are made to signify her (the bride's) cheeks, the lilies her mouth, the

pasturing and plucking the enjoyment of her love. And everywhere it is the same. The most innocent similes have to become sexual references, and from beginning to end the bride is made to beat at the door of the marriage chamber in a most unbecoming manner, although she is also childlike enough to wish that her bridegroom had been her brother." If Budde's theory was accepted, the great panegyric on love in chap. viii. 6-7 would find no fitting place in the poem. "How strange it would be to sing, "If a man should give all the substance of his house for love, yet would he be utterly contemned," at marriages where the assumption was that such love as was felt had been a mere matter of purchase and sale. We may safely predict that Budde's too clever theory of the Song, like his similar theory of Job, will never find any general acceptance among Old Testament scholars.

J. Strachan.

Grundriss der Religionsphilosophie.

Von D. Dr. A. Dorner. Leipzig: Verlag der Dürr'schen Buchhandlung, 1903. Pp. xviii. + 448. *Price* 7*s*.

Professor Dorner's activity as an author is admirable. Apart from minor publications, he has already given us large and important works on Metaphysics, on Ethics, and on the History of Dogma. The very favourable estimate of the last named—and last published—in the Critical Review was more than confirmed by the tributes paid to it by some of the first theologians of Germany. And now he gives us his *Religionsphilosophie*, with a most comprehensive and inviting range of study. His particular aim is to connect the empirical materials yielded by the history and psychology of religion with philosophical, and especially metaphysical, points of view. The essence of religion, Dorner thinks, must be sought much more in underlying Reality, which grounds all appearances, than in any sum of common marks or any common characteristic of a group of appearances. Reason, in all the territories of spirit, fashions ideals, and all concrete appearances are only so many attempts to realise an ideal, which is the impelling principle in the process of spiritual development. Religion, which all mechanism subserves in the teleological development of spirit, calls for metaphysical presuppositions. It reaches out towards the union of God and man, and this union moves towards an ideal which is only realised with the gradual development of spirit. The philosophy of religion has thus, in Dorner's view, to do with the process of development whereby religion is brought to the ideal, as is seen working itself out in the history of the human race as relation betwixt God and man. He refers to the tendency to hold by historic guarantees of faith rather than to God Himself, and insists

that neither to foster quietude nor disquiet is the task of science, but the honouring of truth.

Dorner disclaims giving a bibliography, but he opens with a select list of the literature of his subject, in which Britain is well represented. He gives important place to the discussion of the opposition between the speculative and the empirical standpoints in religion. Those who make of religion only a psychological and historical inquiry and strive to educe some universal point of view therefrom, come to no philosophy of religion in the strict sense of the term, but only to an inductive treatment of the factual materials. Whether the object of religion, the Godhead, exists or not, can here hardly be decided, since experience has nothing to say thereupon. On the other hand, Dorner maintains the necessity of speculation's aid, for religion is basally more than an empiric reality, its essence is not perceived in empiric mode, and its development is towards an ideal. Thus the speculative view of religion places it in the connexion of a great system, seeks to understand it as a determinate form of the life of spirit, and to assign to it its place in the total life of spirit. The speculative conception trusts to the possibility of all-comprehending principles in so understanding religion in its complete connexion with the life of spirit. He does not deny that the inductive method is almost the only one in vogue at the present time. But he says it is with philosophy of religion as with philosophy in general. This latter is the bringing together of the results of the empiric sciences under universal points of view, and the philosophy of religion is exhausted when its materials of fact are brought together under certain universal points of view. If justification is wanted for this conception, it is to be found by inquiring into the rights of philosophy as independent science, and whether it can acquiesce in the position assigned to it by empiricism. Dorner then enters upon a discussion as to the right of philosophy to be regarded as independent science, and leads up to the conclusion that philosophy has task and method of its own, and cannot rest upon mere induction.

That task and method, as treated in philosophical Encyclopædia, Dorner next investigates, with a view to giving Philosophy of Religion its place within the Whole of Philosophy. Here the theory of knowledge claims our author's attention, whence he is led through the real categories to Metaphysics. The metaphysics of the Absolute Being he distinguishes from the metaphysics of the world, and the metaphysical *Urgrund* Dorner first sets out to seek. Then he turns to the metaphysics of the world, discussing the question of an *Ursache*—and of the creative *Ursache*. It cannot, he holds, be said that God created out of nothing, but that God created and creates the world out of Himself, out of the potencies existing in Him. A noteworthy feature of these discussions is the use to which the Schellingian doctrine of potencies is turned. Dorner touches separately on the metaphysics of nature and the metaphysics of spirit. His whole treatment of the subjects already referred to is singularly lucid, able and timely, forming a needed and powerful counteractive to much superficial thinking in the theology of our time, which is so often radically weak and faulty for lack of metaphysical depth and insight.

We are now brought to Dorner's division of the subject-matter of the philosophy of religion. His main divisions are four. First is the representation of religion as relation of God and man, including phenomenology of religion and the religious ideal. Second, the grounding of religion in God, and religious metaphysics. Third, psychological view of the religious subject and his acts, together with consideration of faith and its forms of expression. Fourth, laws of the religious life. To the working out of these four divisions Professor Dorner's book is devoted, each division being worked out in detail under a variety of interesting and orderly heads. Before saying anything of these, one ought to indicate Dorner's view that the discussion of religion, as relation of man to Godhead, is not a thing to be abstractly carried through. The different stages of religious development, and the concrete historical forms of religion, are to be considered. The advance of the religious consciousness,

with the progress of spirit itself from stage to stage, must be shown; also, how the religious relation is always more perfectly formed, and how this advance is effected through immanent necessity. Then shall we arrive at results for the determination of the concept of religion. From the character of religion as relation of spirit to a supersensible reality springs the concept of subjective and objective religion as matter for discussion. The conclusion of the whole process is found in the striving to realise the ideal.

It would be impossible to follow Dorner's four divisions in detailed comment, so I shall confine myself to some remarks on each. Under the first division, Dorner describes with considerable detail the rise and development of the religious consciousness. He goes back to its earliest and crudest beginnings, where it has not apprehended itself as spirit, but evinces only feelings, impulses, phantasies. He traces its rise in the lowest beginnings of religion and metaphysics as seen in spirit raising itself above nature, when religion assumes a kind of supersensible cast. These lowest stages of the life of phantasy, presentiment, and belief in spirits, Dorner takes to indicate a primitive need —a need metaphysical—of supersensible reality. And, after discussion, he concludes that this metaphysical need of man's primitive nature cannot be severed from religion, for the supersensible reality involved is set in relation to man's whole nature. As spirit grows in comprehension of itself as reason and will, so is Godhead comprehended under similar aspects. This process of the elevation of spirit above nature, and of the apprehension of itself as the unity of real and ideal potency—of will and reason—is one wherein religion becomes determined up to its highest stages. Dorner draws much illustrative material in the discussion from the field of comparative religion. The results of this view of the historic process of religion are presented with much fulness, after which the ideal of individual religions, and the absolute ideal of religion, are dealt with.

In the second division, the grounding of religion in God, or the metaphysic of religion, engages our author's attention. Dorner clearly realises that these metaphysical aspects form

the greatest subject of contention in the philosophy of religion at present. His treatment, he significantly remarks, proceeds on the assumption that religion has not to do with illusions, but has reality for its base. He avers that what has been chiefly opposed to the attempt to prove the being of God is, that we have no base from which our proof can take its point of departure. For if God be posited as the absolutely existing Being, then we have no support for the proving of Him. Much rather, in point of fact, everything then proceeds from Him. Even the idea of God in man would, in the last result, itself be a product of the Divine. So that, in any congruent fashion, we should have the actual experience of God taking the place of proof of Him. God-consciousness then becomes the only support for the Divine Existence. But then, says Dorner, God-consciousness takes very diverse forms, and the right one must be determined. Discussing this situation, Dorner comes to the conclusion that what we must prove is—much more than anything else—that the existence of God is a thought necessary to reason—that we are necessitated to think this thought.

He then proceeds to deal with the famous proofs for the Being of God, making real beginning with the ontological proof. The first point of importance in his use of this argument is his making it a means of compassing an agreement of thought with religious experience, pointing to a possibility of perfect harmony in the life of spirit. Dorner further holds we can keep religious experience from being viewed as illusion only by proving it unjustifiable to doubt of such experience, whose content corresponds with thought necessary to our reason. For this proof shows, he holds, that if we would have knowledge in general, we must take for presupposition that there is a Being, in Whom all reality is comprehended, and Who is the single source of all reality. We must think such most real of all Beings as necessary, and as necessarily existing, and Dorner declares himself unconvinced that the ontological proof is empty and untenable. Dorner then goes on to discuss in clear and interesting fashion the forms in which the cosmological and teleological arguments are tenable,

from which he passes to ethical, æsthetical and religious lines of proof.

We are thus brought up to his third main division of the work, dealing with the psychological view of the religious subject and the practical proofs of his religiousness. Faith in all the specific forms of its expression is more fully gone into than can here be traversed. I shall make a reference only to the section dealing with the Churchly Community. This subject is dealt with on a wide basis, leading up to discussion on the specifically Christian Community. This latter is handled in no churchly-minded spirit, but in a broad and dispassionate way. He makes the advance in the development of the religious community depend on the development of the religious consciousness. And it is accounted necessary to discuss, in separate sections, whether the need of the religious community and the care of the religious life cannot be better met in other ways than through an organised Church; whether religious phantasy cannot be best satisfied by great religious Art; whether the religious principle of knowledge cannot be best met by free and far-seeing Science; and whether the need of a religiously determined will comes not best to its own through practical proof within the whole territories of Ethics.

The fourth and last division comprises the laws of the religious life. Here the need of law, and the different kinds of law, are touched upon, and the question raised whether the religious laws are natural laws or advances upon these. The answer, it is argued, will always depend on one's standpoint as taken in our philosophy of religion in the universal sense.

But this notice must close. I have tried to indicate the author's positions and lines of thought, rather than to criticise them. I think such positive presentations as we have here must form the best correctives to Ritschlian depreciation of metaphysics and to certain unbalanced ethicisms of our time. At any rate, this fresh contribution to the inspiring theological discipline now designated Philosophy of Religion deserves serious study and cordial welcome.

James Lindsay.

The Crises of the Christ.

By G. Campbell Morgan, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. xv. + 430. *Price 7s. 6d.*

The Finger of God: Studies and Suggestions in the Miracles of Jesus.

By the Rev. T. H. Wright. London: Andrew Melrose, 1903. *Large Crown 8vo,* pp. xvi. + 201.

The Greater Exodus.

By J. Fitzgerald Lee. London: Elliott Stock. Pp. x. + 132. *Price 2s. 6d. net.*

Dr. Campbell Morgan in an interesting foreword differentiates his book from the many Lives of Jesus published in recent years. These have been more largely directed to the contemplation of the Person of Jesus than to a consideration of the accomplishment of a divine work. It is to this latter aspect of the life of Jesus that Dr. Morgan devotes himself. In point of fact this is not a life of Jesus at all, in the sense of Geikie, Farrar and Stalker. It is a series of dissertations on the outstanding features of the Christ, and the book is rightly named "The Crises of Christ".

Dr. Morgan finds seven of these turning moments in the life of the Redeemer, *viz.*, the Birth, the Baptism, the Temptation, the Transfiguration, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection and the Ascension. The book is a discussion of these, and it is a discussion growing in interest, and power, and in clearness.

In the earlier pages, if one could say it without being misunderstood, one feels Dr. Morgan has not got away. These chapters are indeed full of thought, devotion and intense

spirituality, but the line labours, and there is a sense of strain, restraint or inhibition.

When Dr. Morgan is at his best he does not say, *e.g.*, God's will "is ever *impulsed* by this perfect affection" (70); "the people have become *antagonised*" (92); "a purpose *homed* in God's perfect love" (145). We know these are trifles, but they indicate the strain and occasional turgidity here and there apparent.

Perhaps the most difficult chapter, and the least illuminative, is the one devoted to the Incarnation. In this subject that has now come to the very forefront of theological interest and criticism, Dr. Morgan, though stating fully the doctrine of Scripture, and of the Confessions, has not been quite successful in giving a fresh and co-ordinated statement of religious and philosophical thought. He tells us "the difficulty admits of no explanation save that of restating it"; "it is a mystery defying explanation". Doubtless. But the blank wall comes sooner, and is more disappointing than we thought. Yet even while we note it, this has to be said: Dr. Morgan no doubt felt that the limits he had laid down for himself precluded the fuller discussion which would otherwise have been seasonable and profitable.

When he comes to "The Parting of the Ways," he is thoroughly *en rapport* with his subject and his readers. The statement on the human development of Jesus is excellent, and sometimes piquant, as in the following practical note: "He grew in favour not only with God, but with men. Jesus was a favourite in His own village. It is not a sign of being in the grace of God when one is out of favour with men."

The chapters on the Temptation are excellent, expository, interesting, and always spiritual and searching. The discussion of the tempted Jesus, in relation to His ministry, to the perfection of His nature, and to the redemption of tempted man, is both worthy and complete, and reveals Dr. Morgan at his best as a great preacher, skilled to fortify the soul. Perhaps one might dissent from the apparent literality in his treatment of agent and locality; and Dr.

Morgan himself, by the way in which he quotes the beautiful psychological note of Luke, "in a moment of time," is not quite so far away from the modern reading of the Temptation as one might at first suppose.

In Book IV., the Transfiguration, the author returns to a subject that in his sermons he has treated with great tenderness and spiritual power. In this book one has the qualities that made these sermons, all fused and glowing, in an atmosphere that is as full of thought as it is of devotion. To read Book IV. perhaps in an hour when the fire of life burns low, and when we cannot kindle it, is to have a door opened in heaven, to be on the mount and to feel the words of Jesus, "He that is near Me is always near the fire". Yet Dr. Morgan on the mount does not forget the valley. With shrewd common-sense he comments on the tabernacles Peter would have made, and he says: "The mistake is by no means an obsolete one. Men are still attempting to make tabernacles, one for Christ, one for Confucius, one for Buddha. More harm was done in 1893 in the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago than has yet been undone. Men from the East, who then heard arguments to show the comparison between the religion of Jesus and that of others, while perhaps to-day thinking no less of Christ than before, yet cling more tenaciously than ever to the system in which they have been brought up. One for Jesus, one for Moses, and one for Elijah is utterly and hopelessly wrong. He has lost the sense of the absolute and sovereign supremacy of Jesus Christ over all teachers."

The chapters on the Crucifixion include also "The Approach to the Cross, and the Representative Crowds," as well as a careful and delicately reticent treatment of the Sufferings of our Lord. The reverent touch, forbearing to dwell on the mere physical, is all that could be desired, and is in marked contrast with the unspiritual and familiar handling of this great mystery, that mars so many books on the Passion. Dr. Morgan has entered into the sympathetic darkness that veiled the Cross. He knows there is something inscrutable, something unutterable, in the Atonement

made for man. Believing Christ's work to be both vicarious and expiatory, he refuses to be drawn into the statement of a theory of the Atonement, remembering that our Lord Himself said "Why?" and "if He asked that question I dare not imagine that I can ever explain the deep central verities of His mystery of pain".

One is deeply thankful for the chapters in which the Resurrection is treated, under the heads of "The Perfect Victory," "The Divine Seal," and "Faith's Anchorage". The various theories that have been put forward to explain, or rather explain away, the Resurrection are dealt with in close and convincing reasoning, and Dr. Morgan gives us a striking apologetic for the objective fact. It is refreshing to find the case stated with so much clearness, a very marked contrast to the almost disingenuous way in which Harnack, for example, deals with the same subject. In this, and generally, Dr. Morgan's book is a great contribution to the cause of Christian certainty. We think it will do great good. It has certain faults which we have noted, in language, plan and interpretation; but these are only accidental. The book itself remains, and has, we are glad to see, attained its majority in a second edition.

It is a praiseworthy and successful attempt to again bring the Life of Jesus on to theological lines, to think it out not in terms of the picturesque Syrian landscape, but in the related facts of sin, redemption and the reconciliation of God and man.

There has not been published for a quarter of a century a more suggestive, informative and competent book on the miracles of Jesus. It is timely also. In certain quarters the habit has set in of apologising for the miraculous in the Gospel history, as if it were only the burden of the faith.

Mr. Wright does not of course base the defence of the Christian religion on miracle alone, like some of the older apologists. We believe in miracle because we have first believed in a miraculous Person. But "we may also come

to believe in Him with a fuller faith because of the miracles, in harmony as these are with the whole Revelation in Jesus of which they are a living part ".

The book falls into three divisions: I. The place of Miracles in the defence and commendation of Christianity; II. Examination of Miracles of Healing; III. Miracles in the sphere of non-human nature; upon the nature of Jesus; and in the Unseen World.

Dealing with the term "Supernatural"—the question-begging appellative by pre-eminence—Mr. Wright shows the impossibility of drawing the line between the natural and the supernatural. This border line is a shifting boundary, and is constantly over-passed as human experience is enlarged. Miracles are defined as "divinely significant works; manifestations of Divine power going beyond present human experience of the forces known to be working in the world in human nature". In support of his contention of a God living and moving and working in all things Fairbairn is quoted. "The absolute miracle—the only Supernatural is the inactivity of God."

The book is developed along this line, that miracles may be only the works that belong to that part of nature which at present is hidden from us. "Given the Person of Jesus, the Creator of a new world, given the complete Human Soul, the Perfect Instrument of Divine Power (as the New Testament presents Him), and we shall not find it incredible that He exercised a unique action on the world of matter and the realm of human spirit." The works of Jesus were unique because He was uniquely related to the Divine source of power.

In discussing the miracles of healing, Mr. Wright aptly points out how Jesus required a certain condition of mind and spirit in those to be healed. He laboured to produce it, to call forth and to release not only all the powers of a man's soul, but also the healing forces of nature. Reference is made to the related phenomena of mental and bodily healing in our own day, with the medical evidence in connexion therewith. In the chapter dealing with the restoration of

demoniacs, the freshness and ability of Mr. Wright's book are specially shown. No doubt Dr. Menzies Alexander has been before him in this particular line, but Mr. Wright's treatment has an independent value, and in the future no man will expound this type of miracle till he has cleared and informed his thought by a study of these helpful and suggestive chapters.

We have no hesitation in saying this is a book "we cannot do without". The spirit of it is admirable: to the preacher it is stimulating, and, not least, it is written in a style at once delightful and distinguished.

Another book on the Exodus, and a brand-new theory. Certainly this book amply redeems the promise of the preface that "the author has collected together many most interesting, curious, and often really startling facts". For this book propounds the theory that the Biblical Exodus is but the legend preserving the main facts of "The Greater Exodus" of the Semitic race from Mexico and Peru, up through North America, across the ice-floes of Behring Strait *into* Asia. There has been considerable ingenuity hitherto on the part of apologists "to get round" the sea. Here we go over it dryshod, thanks to the ice. There is now no difficulty in believing the forty years' march, for instead of from the Nile to the Jordan, this was a Semitic migration from Peru to South-West Asia. Probably it would have taken all that time.

The book collects, from mythology, legend and place-names remarkable footprints of "The Wandering Jew". It seems certain Semites refused to trust themselves on the ice of Behring Strait. They remained behind, the main wave of migration sweeping on, while the remnant became henceforth identified with the Red Man. This contact between the red men and the white men is hinted at in the book of Genesis. "Jacob the smooth man, the unhairy man" (note the characteristic of the American Indian) serves a

man, wins his flocks and marries his daughter. "The man's name was Laban, which in Hebrew means the white man." There are other things in the book as good as this (page 61), and probably one feels that the preface is undeniably right on the safe side, that the "suggestions of the book must be left to the candid consideration of the reader".

W. M. Grant.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers. By George Buchanan Gray, M.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in Mansfield College, Oxford. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903. 8vo, pp. lii. + 489. Price 12s.

Comparatively little has been done for a considerable time for the interpretation of the Book of Numbers. Yet it is a book that emphatically requires attention. It is full of interest, but it is also full of problems and difficulties. It is a surprising thing that it has been left so much unnoticed by scholars. We have indeed the great work of Dillmann than which it would not be easy to find a better. And something has been done since Dillmann's book appeared by Strack and other scholars. But much was waiting to be done, and Professor Gray has stepped into the breach. He is admirably equipped in breadth as well as in exactness of scholarship for the task in view, and in this volume he makes by far the most considerable addition to our literature on Numbers that we have got since Dillmann's time. Now that a new beginning has been made by this able and opportune contribution to the *International Critical Commentary*, we shall look for more. Already indeed we are having instalments of that from the hands of Professors Baentsch and Holzinger in Nowack's *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament* and Marti's *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament.* And no doubt other scholars will be attracted to the same fruitful field.

Perhaps the most notable characteristic of Professor Gray's commentary is the variety of its method. It gives large space to questions of Criticism, both the Lower and the Higher. It makes consistent use of the grammatical and historical method in its exegesis. But it does not limit itself to these things. It interprets and values the ideas

which are expressed in the book. And it introduces much historical, geographical and antiquarian lore with a view to the explanation and illustration of the narrative. The student, therefore, will find very much that will interest him and advance his knowledge in a commentary constructed on this large and liberal scale.

In addition to the ordinary expository notes the volume contains a number of longer or detached notes. These are introduced at appropriate points all through the book, and they are of great value. They deal with such questions as the numbers of the Israelites, the camp in the wilderness, the Levites, ordeals, Nazarites, priestly dues, the cult of serpents, the power of a curse, the differences between the festivals of earlier and of later times, etc.

Among these we may refer to one on the origin and motive of the story of Balaam. The *narrative* in chap. xxii. 2—xxiv. 25 is taken to be due to J and E, and to belong, therefore, to the date of these sources, *viz.*, the ninth or eighth century B.C. But the question of the date of the poetical sections is more complicated. Until very lately the antiquity of the first four poems was generally recognised. Professor Gray refers to the arguments of Diehl in favour of a later date for these sections, and to those of von Gall in support of a post-Exilic date for all the poetical matter. But he holds it improbable, especially in the case of the third poem, that these pieces are meant to depict the Messianic age, and he attaches considerable importance to the "feeling of national confidence, success, prosperity, and contentment," as significant of the antiquity of these sections. He regards the episode as in the main "a creation of the Hebrew national spirit in the days of national prosperity and self-confidence springing from reliance on the national God, Yahweh". He finds the motive of the story in the contest between Israel and Moab—Jehovah's purpose of good regarding His people, His power to defend them, and "the fatal madness of those who oppose Him".

Among the religious presuppositions of the story, the most striking, he thinks, are the "recognition of Yahweh's revela-

tion of His purposes concerning Israel to one who was not an Israelite, and the familiar intercourse of this foreign seer with the God of Israel". As to the character of Balaam, the author thinks too much has been made of that, and that a prominence has been given it which does not belong to it in the story itself. Balaam himself seems to Professor Gray rather an accident than an integral part of the story, and, so far as the question of the seer's character comes into view at all, the main point, he thinks, is the fact that "nothing suffices to seduce him from carrying out the will of Yahweh". In this Professor Gray follows Kalisch and departs from the view which has been current. This is a construction of the story which deserves careful consideration. It is difficult to harmonise it with the New Testament view and with some things in the Old Testament itself. But Professor Gray's arguments undoubtedly are of weight and they are very carefully stated.

On questions of the Higher Criticism, Professor Gray is thoroughgoing and uncompromising. But he is neither hasty nor dogmatic. He distinguishes between the more and the less probable, the comparatively certain and the purely conjectural. He takes, for example, a less confident position than some others do on such questions as the relations of J and E. He admits how impracticable it often is to "carry through an analysis in detail". He thinks that less than a fourth of the book can be attributed to collections older than P. In the P sections themselves he finds three different contributory parts, *viz.*, first, a fundamental part, the work of a single hand, dating about B.C. 500; second, certain parts of later origin, coming down as late as the third century B.C.; and third, a considerable amount of matter of a *legal* kind, of which we cannot well say either that it was an original section of the work or that it is later than the fundamental document. In discussions of this kind the critical analysis of sources is carried, we think, at times into a detail which would hardly be admitted to be justifiable in other lines of inquiry, in view of the scanty and indeterminate materials at the critic's disposal. But our author

is usually pretty sure-footed and he is seldom over-confident. He has given us a book on which much patient, scholarly toil has been spent, and to which a high place will be gladly conceded in the list of scientific commentaries on Old Testament Scripture.

The Sacraments in the New Testament. (Being the Kerr Lectures for 1903.) By Rev. JOHN C. LAMBERT, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903. 8vo, pp. xx. + 430. Price 10s. 6d.

The Doctrine and Validity of the Ministry and Sacraments of the National Church of Scotland. (The Baird Lecture for 1903). By the Very Rev. DONALD MACLEOD, D.D., one of H.M. Chaplains. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 306. Price 6s. net.

Although the first of these two volumes is occupied entirely with the question of the Sacraments, while the second deals mainly with the larger question of the Ministry and gives comparatively small space to the doctrines of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, they have much in common, and can well be taken together. They have both much good matter, and they are both written under strong conviction as well as with competent scholarship. Dr. Macleod's book is more limited in its range than Mr. Lambert's and takes a more parochial view of the subject. This may be more in appearance, however, than in reality. It is due to the fact that Dr. Macleod does not take within his purview either the Calvinistic Churches as a whole or the Presbyterian Communion as such, but unfortunately restricts himself to the branch of the wide Presbyterian Church to which he himself belongs, and leaves other Presbyterian Churches, even those of his own land, almost unmentioned. The position and claims of these latter are left by the author as matter of inference. His book is essentially a polemic on behalf of the National Church of Scotland against the National Church of England. In this we see at once the weakness and the strength of the

book. It is strong as a controversial treatise. But the exigencies of its polemic prevent it from taking that higher, spiritual view of the nature and purpose of the Church of Christ and its ministry which lifts the whole question above the region in which Dr. Macleod leaves it.

What he aims at is simply to show that there is more to be said for one kind of succession than another—more for a *Presbyterial* Succession than for an *Apostolical*. But to make the validity of the Ministry and the Sacraments depend on either of these Successions or on any manner of formal transmission of supposed powers from hand to hand in any line of men regarded as functionaries or bearers of office, instead of the inward life of the Church itself, the spiritual character and universal priesthood of its members, and the continuous presence of Christ's Spirit, is to miss the very essence of the question and to place these sacred institutions in a very precarious position. This is the great weakness of the book.

Taking Dr. Macleod's argument, however, as he puts it, it is no doubt effective for its purpose. That purpose is not the highest certainly, and there are things in Dr. Macleod's way of putting the case which might tempt one to say that the theory of a Presbyterate Succession might not work any better towards a really Catholic idea of the Church than the theory of an Apostolical Succession. It is the idea and the prerogative of a "National Church" that fill Dr. Macleod's vision, and he sees little beyond that. But within its limits it is a strong defence of the claims of his own branch of the Presbyterian Church to be a true Church, and one deserving of recognition as such even by the exclusive National Church of England. The other branches of Presbyterianism are allowed the benefit of this defence.

In the general course of the argument there is nothing in any sense very novel or very striking. The familiar ground is trodden once more on the subject of the Notes of the Church, the question of the position of *presbyter* and *bishop* in the New Testament and in early Christian literature, the distinction between the Zwinglian and the Calvin-

istic views of the Sacraments, and other kindred topics. Some sharp things are deservedly said of the High Anglican theory of Succession. Some pertinent criticisms are passed on certain very vulnerable statements made by Bishop Gore and the late Professor Moberly. Some troublesome facts, such as the disuse of the ceremony of the imposition of hands in ordination in the Reformed Church under Knox are noticed, but are too rapidly disposed of. On the other hand there is a good deal of interesting historical matter. All through the book, too, there is a refreshing antagonism to priestly assumptions in the matter of the Ministry and to superstitious ideas regarding the use of the Sacraments.

Mr. Lambert deals with his subject in a constructive rather than a controversial way. His book is an important and helpful study of a great and much-disputed question. It goes into the fundamental questions, and pursues its inquiry in accordance with the approved methods of literary and historical criticism. It begins with a good statement of the prominence given to the subject in the present day by the ritualistic over-estimation of the Sacraments on the one hand and the critical challenge of their institutional authority on the other. Taking the New Testament writings as the proper sources and immediate authorities, and setting aside as unreasonable the claim preferred by Bishop Gore and others for the priority of a so-called "ancient Catholic tradition," the author goes into the question of the reliability of the documents. This is done with commendable brevity but in a clear and well-informed way. The theories of Eichhorn, Wendt and Harnack on the subject of the Gospels receive special consideration, and, as regards the book of Acts, the traditional view is shown to be really the critical view.

Having thus cleared his foundations, Mr. Lambert turns first to the question of Christian Baptism as it is presented in the Gospels, its institution by our Lord, its historical antecedents, its significance, the Baptismal Commission. Every step in the argument is taken with care, the discussion of the difficulties raised by Harnack and others with

regard to the terms of Matthew xxviii. 19 is of particular interest. The weakness of the counter-arguments and the force of the positive evidence are brought out with much ability. The general Apostolic practice, as discovered in Acts, the Johannine writings, and the Epistles of James and Peter is the next subject of inquiry. The general result thus far is stated to be that Baptism was "the invariable accompaniment of a profession of faith, that it was the rite of initiation into the community of Christ's disciples, that it was regarded as a figure of the cleansing of the soul, and as the means of a subjective assurance of the forgiving grace of God in Christ"; further, that in all this we are not carried beyond "the sphere of the ideas suggested by the original institution of Jesus".

The Pauline testimony is reserved for separate treatment in the fourth lecture, which is a particularly good one. The several accounts of the great Apostle's own conversion and baptism, and the place occupied by the rite in his missionary activity, are carefully considered. The evidence furnished by the epistles is next reviewed, with due regard to recent critical verdicts on the writings. Here the conclusion arrived at is to the effect that there does not appear to be any difference in anything essential between Paul's view of Baptism and the general doctrine of the primitive Christian community. The theory, advocated by Holtzmann and others, that there is a marked distinction between an earlier and a later doctrine both found in the New Testament, that the rite was originally a simple symbolical action, and that it was transformed by Paul, who gave it a new mystical significance, is pronounced to have no proper ground. The fifth lecture is occupied with a statement of the questions regarding the subjects of Baptism, the mode of its administration, the persons by whom it may be administered and the value belonging to the Baptismal formula.

The remaining lectures deal with the Lord's Supper. The difficulties of the subject are fully recognised. The questions of the *sources* and the *occasion* of the Supper are subjected to careful examination. Westcott and Hort's view of the narratives

is not accepted. The four records are regarded as falling into two groups, Mark-Matthew and Paul-Luke. Of these Mark and Paul are held to be the most original, and the second is considered to be not less historical than the first. The reader's attention may be specially called to Mr. Lambert's vindication of the historical character of the Pauline account. We may notice also that Mr. Lambert declares his agreement, for reasons stated, with the majority of scholars in taking the words "I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you" as not implying a direct revelation from the Lord to Paul. The very difficult question of the date and occasion of the institution of the Lord's Supper is examined by Mr. Lambert with much candour and good sense. He deems it impossible to set aside the definite testimony of the Fourth Gospel to the fact that our Lord was crucified on the day before the regular Jewish paschal feast, supported as he also finds it to be by some touches in the Synoptical Gospels themselves. He judges it no less impossible to set aside the testimony of the first three Gospels to the fact that our Lord kept the Passover with His disciples on the night before He died, and that it was at the close of a Paschal meal that He instituted the Supper. He thinks, therefore, that we must come to the conclusion that our Lord *anticipated* the Passover, keeping it a day sooner than was the case with the Jewish community. In this connexion he notices the textual difficulty in Matt. xxvi. 17, Mark xiv. 12, Luke xxii. 7, and the explanations offered by Dr. Chwolson and Father Power. These he does not accept as conclusive. But he thinks they are "valuable as pointing in directions both of textual criticism and chronological study from which some final solution may yet be found of the apparent contradiction between the Synoptists and John's Gospel".

There is much that is of interest in the volume, and much that we might touch upon. But it is unnecessary to say more than that we are at one with the author in his leading positions and in much of his criticism. The closing pages deal with the transformation of the Lord's Supper. They

give a concise statement of the way in which this took place, the things which explain it, and the place assignable to Cyprian in the process. And whatever defence of it may be attempted on the ground of historical necessity, this transformation of the Sacrament in the line of the sacrificial idea is regarded by Mr. Lambert as a retrogression.

Giordano Bruno. By J. Lewis McIntyre, M.A. Edin., Anderson Lecturer in the University of Aberdeen. London: Macmillan & Co., 1903. 8vo, pp. xii. + 365. Price 10s. net.

This is one of the best monographs that have come under our notice for a length of time. It has all the thoroughness of the best German work together with a style which is rare indeed in German treatises. It is the result of much original research, much patient, intelligent study, much careful sifting and balancing of authorities. Dr. McIntyre has made himself acquainted with the best that has been written on Bruno, and has been at great pains to understand the conditions in which his life was spent. He writes, therefore, in such sympathy with the man and his endeavours as is appropriate to the case and necessary to a just estimate of him. He writes also in the light of a large and appreciative knowledge of the times, the movements of thought, the various interests which occupied men, the cross-currents in politics, philosophy and religion. He has the further advantage of an excellent style — clear, forcible and unaffected — which makes it a pleasure to read the book. We owe him, therefore, cordial thanks for a weighty addition to our knowledge of a strange and interesting personality and a remarkable epoch in the history of European thought.

It is an important service that has been rendered by Dr. McIntyre to his own country by the preparation of this scholarly book. For on this side of the English Channel Bruno is but little known, and little has been done for him in our literature. Considerable attention has been given him in Germany and France, and in Italy there have been many

biographies and smaller publications. But in England the only complete work on Bruno is the *Life* by I. Frith in the *English and Foreign Philosophical Library*. Some notice is taken of the man and his system in the writings of Thomas Davidson, the late Professor R. Adamson, Messrs. Owen and Plumptre, and a few more. But that is all, and it does not amount to very much. We are glad, therefore, that Dr. McIntyre has removed England's reproach in this matter, and that he has done it in a way to match the best that has been produced by French, German or Italian scholars.

The book is naturally divided into two great parts, the first dealing with Bruno's life and the second with his philosophy. The story of the life is told in a very interesting way. In vivid terms the facts are set before us regarding Bruno's extraction, the home of his youth, the Neapolitan Nola, the pleasant environment in which his early years were spent, the superstitious beliefs of his fellow-countrymen, the lessons that he drew from Nature, the education he received in Naples, the teachers under whom he studied, his choice of a religious life, and his reception into the great Dominican order. That was a fateful event in his career. Disaster lay heavy on the kingdom of Naples, and it may have seemed that a youth whose aspirations were after learning made a wise decision in seeking admission into that powerful order. But the Dominican order was, as Dr. McIntyre describes it, "the narrowest and the most bigoted". The forces of the Inquisition were directed by it, and the Inquisition was in a peculiarly inflamed condition. It was the time when the Waldensian persecution burned hottest and fiercest—the time of the great counter-reformation which was to "erase with fire and sword the least traces of heresy". And our author notices how even during his novitiate Bruno was made to feel something of the terror of that dread institution from which he suffered deadly things in his later career.

We get an equally picturesque and telling account of Bruno's long and restless wanderings—from Naples to Rome, from Rome to Noli in the Gulf of Naples, "whither

a more famous exile, Dante, had come," and from that to Savona, Turin, Venice, Padua and other Italian cities, and thence again to Geneva, where Vico visited him and he entered the Academy. He left the great Calvinistic centre in consequence, it would appear, of certain "replies and invectives" against the Professor of Philosophy, M. de la Faye, and thereafter he wandered by Lyons, Toulouse and Paris, landing ultimately in England in 1583. Dr. McIntyre has a good deal to tell us of Bruno's stay in our own land, the access he had to the most brilliant literary society, his visit to Oxford at the time when Alasco was also there, his return to London, his great literary productiveness during his residence in the house of Mauvissière, the French Ambassador, and his connexion with Sir Philip Sidney. Here Dr. McIntyre has something to say about Spenser's knowledge of Bruno, of Bacon's acquaintance with his works and his possible acquaintance with himself, of the fanciful supposition that he influenced Shakespeare, and of his flattering descriptions of English women. The story of his further travels in France and Germany, his efforts to obtain reconciliation with the Church, his unhappy acceptance of the invitation of Giovanni Mocenigo to visit him in Venice, his life in Mocenigo's house, the delivering of him over to the servants of the Inquisition, his trial by the Venetian tribunal, the handing of him over to the Roman authority, the Roman process and Bellarmin's part in it, the theological errors which were finally formulated against him, his condemnation and his death at the stake—all this is related in quick and moving terms. It is a strange, affecting, dramatic, melancholy story.

The judgments pronounced by theological and historical students on Bruno's conduct have been very diverse. Often they have been very unfavourable. And it must be confessed to be far from easy to read his character and form anything like a clear and certain estimate of not a few passages in his life. Dr. McIntyre takes a favourable view, and he gives many good reasons for so doing. He allows that Bruno's heart trembled at the first and that there are things in his earlier

career which require explanation or apology. But he points out that his courage and his steadfastness grew as danger and trouble increased, and that he was nobly constant and consistent in his death. He claims for him that he died as "the apostle of a new religion, founded on a new conception of the universe and of its relation to God". He demands for him the honour which belongs to a man who was a lover of truth and who stood for freedom of thought. "No end in history," he says, "is more tragic, when looked at in all its circumstances, than that of Giordano Bruno. First a life of endless, unresting struggle, striving through years of wandering, in many lands, to overcome prejudice and outworn authority, to proclaim and urge on unwilling minds the splendid gospel which inspired himself, and by which for a brief time he may have thought to supplant the old; now admired of kings, and sought after by the highest in the land, at another time a hunted pedlar of literary wares; then eight years in darkness from the world with shame or death to choose for release." We may have some difficulty in claiming for Bruno all that Dr. McIntyre finds in him, or in setting him on so lofty a pinnacle in the sad tracts of the history of the world's martyrs, but we cannot but admire the ability and the spirit exhibited in the estimate given in this book.

Not a little of Bruno's energy was allowed to run in unprofitable channels—curious memory-arts and the like. But he wrote much that is of worth. We owe much to Dr. McIntyre for the summaries and analyses which he gives of Bruno's numerous works. Of special interest is his account of the *De Immenso*, the *Cena*, the *Causa*, the *Infinito*, and above all the *Spaccio*. The statement of his philosophy occupies a large part of the volume, and it is of great value. The sources of the philosophy are carefully examined, and Bruno's relations to the various Greek schools, the Egyptian theosophy, the Hebrew Cabbala, the Arabian speculations, the great scholastics and others, are well set forth. His leading ideas on the foundations of knowledge, the infinite universe, nature and the living world, atoms and soul-

monads, as also the more practical and ethical aspects of his system, are exhibited in a remarkably lucid way. Nor are his views of God, the Trinity, Immortality, the Hierarchy of Souls, the Timeless Reality of Things, etc., left without due investigation and exposition. His philosophical religion is shown to be in the end a theism, but "theism of a purely intellectual or rationalist type". God is supposed to exist "in absolute simplicity—as Mind; in absolute immobility, changelessness — as Intellect (the World of Ideas); in absolute perfection, self-sufficiency and self-satisfaction—as Love, or Holy Spirit". And over against this "self-contained Trinity the changing and passing world is a *non-ens*". The *formal* cause of nature is the *ideal reason*; the *final* cause is the perfection of the universe. Strictly speaking, there are only "two *substances*, matter and spirit". No part of matter is without *form* (Spirit), and matter is the true substance. Nature is both one and many, and matter is the ultimate unity. The *summum bonum* is *knowledge*, that is, as Dr. McIntyre puts it, "an intellectual comprehension of the All in things, as it is in the supreme unity or source of the world".

Another matter of great interest with which our author deals is Bruno's place in the history of philosophy. In contemporary English writers the Nolan is little noticed. On the Continent his cosmological theories attracted most attention. The chief question, however, is that of his relation to Descartes, Gassendi, Spinoza and Leibniz. Dr. McIntyre shows how far Bruno was from the Cartesian universal doubt; in what respects he was more advanced than Gassendi; and how little reason there is to suppose that Leibniz had any great interest in him. It is of course between Bruno and Spinoza that the real affinity is found, and Dr. McIntyre agrees, rightly as we think, with those who are of opinion that the latter was influenced deeply and directly by the former. The resemblances between their two schemes of thought are unmistakable. Among other things, they had both the same conviction of the *necessity* and the *goodness* of all things. But as Dr. McIntyre points out,

it is Bruno rather than Spinoza who " attempted to reconcile individual liberty with determinism in the world as a whole, and individual moral responsibility with the necessary goodness of the all ".

Among other pleasures which the reading of this book has brought us is the revival of our acquaintance with such thinkers and teachers as Raymond Lully, Nicolas of Cusa, Picus of Mirandola, etc. There is a pretty full account of Cusanus and his system of thought, which should help to bring into notice again a singular personality whom neither the theologian nor the philosopher should allow to slip into oblivion.

S. D. F. Salmond.

Notices.

The long-established theological journal, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, founded by Ullmann and Umbreit, and ably conducted now by Drs. Kautzsch and Haupt, begins the year 1904 well. The opening article, by Pfarrer Berbig, of Schwartzhausen, occupies thirty-one pages and contains much valuable historical matter. It is entitled "Urkundliches zur Reformationsgeschichte," and it gives among other things a transcription of an original letter written by Duke George of Saxony from the Augsburg Diet of 1530 and a series of thirty-one letters by or to Spalatin. This is followed by an article of much greater length by Pastor Otto Albrecht of Naumburg, "Mitteilungen aus den Akten der Naumburger Reformationsgeschichte," giving accounts of important religious services, visitations, old forms of evangelical worship and other things of interest to the historian of the Reformation movement in Germany. Dr. George Daxer contributes a good paper on Christian certitude, "Zur Lehre von der Christlichen Gewissheit," dealing with the position given to that doctrine in Frank's *System der Christlichen Gewissheit* and the discussions to which it has been subjected since. Professor Kirn, of Leipzig, writes briefly on the difficult passage in James iv. 5. He adopts the desperate expedient of substituting *θεόν* for *φθόνον* in the clause *πρὸς φθόνον ἐπιποθεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα*, and supposes that what James quotes is the beginning of Psalm xlii. with some slight modifications of the LXX version—*ὃν τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ἔλαφος ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων, οὕτως ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου πρὸς σέ, ὁ θεός.*

The third part of volume twenty-four of the *American Journal of Philology*, edited by Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve, of Johns Hopkins University, contains a long and very painstaking discussion of the "Modes of Conditional Thought,"

by H. C. Nutting; an interesting paper on the "*Editio Princeps* of the Greek Æsop," by George C. Keidel; a short account by Edgar J. Goodspeed of a "Medical Papyrus Fragment," which brings out some useful points, such as the use of ἄλλη for an *alternative* remedy, as ἄλλο is used in the Oxyrrhynchus papyri; and other good articles.

In the closing number of the *Princeton Theological Review* for 1903 Principal Sheraton, of Toronto, gives a careful summary of "Our Lord's Teaching Concerning Himself," dealing specially with the applications of the titles "Son of Man" and "Son of God" and the claim to pre-existence. Professor George McCloskie, of Princeton University, has a good paper on "The Outlook of Science and Faith," in which he reviews the position as it was forty or fifty years ago; notices the changes that have taken place more recently in the attitude of both parties; and concludes that it is now generally admitted that, "amidst the struggle for existence of all the world's religions, the Gospel of Christ, and it only, is being found pre-eminently the fittest to survive". Professor Samuel Dickey, of Chicago, in a short article on "New Points of View for the Study of an Old Problem," vindicates the importance of an acquaintance with modern Greek for the study of the New Testament.

Among the articles appearing in the fourth issue of the *International Journal of Ethics* for 1903, we may refer specially to one by Mr. Frank Ganger, of University College, Nottingham, on "The Right of Free Thought in Matters of Religion," dealing with the question of the imposition of religious tests upon teachers which has been raised by the English Education Act. Mr. John A. Ryan, of St. Paul, Minn., discusses the question "Were the Church Fathers Communists?" His conclusion is that, while "many of the Fathers seem to have looked upon the ideal of a Christian community of ownership with a fondness and wistful hope that have not been shared by any considerable number of the great Christian teachers that have lived since their time," the passages often adduced in proof of their Communistic doctrine, when fairly interpreted, do not bear that out, but show that what they

condemned was "not the institution but the abuse and exaggeration of private ownership". There are other good papers, most of them making excellent reading. That is the case, *e.g.*, with one by Professor George Rebec, of Michigan, on "Byron and Morals".

In the forty-eighth number of *Mind*, New Series, there are several papers of importance—one, *e.g.*, by G. E. Moore on "The Refutation of Idealism,".calling attention specially to two points in the Idealist view of the universe as *spiritual*, *viz.*, these: (1) that the universe is very different indeed from what it seems, and (2) that it has quite a large number of properties which it does not seem to have. There is another by C. M. Walsh on "Kant's Transcendental Idealism and Empirical Realism," enumerating the four doctrines held by Kant and the four rejected by him, and then putting the question whether Kant really proved the doctrines he held, and disproved those he rejected. We mention also one by G. R. T. Ross on "The Disjunctive Judgment," and the third of the series by Mr. M'Dougall on "The Physiological Factors of the Attention Process".

The eighth of the valuable and elaborate series of historical papers on "The Holy Eucharist" appears in the last issue of the *Church Quarterly Review* for 1903. In this paper much attention is given to the views of Cosin, Jeremy Taylor, Thorndike and John Johnson. There are also interesting articles on other subjects, *e.g.*, one on "Church Worship and Church Order," defining the principles on which Church order might be restored in the Church of England; one on "The Golden Legend"; one on "Joan of Arc"; another on "Welsh Methodism—its Origin and Growth," etc.

In the last issue of the *Revue de Théologie et des Questions religieuses* for 1903, M. C. Bruston concludes his series of papers on "The Christian Doctrine of Immortality," dealing specially with certain Pauline ideas, with the view of relieving the Church from the necessity of abiding by what he terms the Judaic view of the Parousia. While these articles have had much that is suggestive, the exegesis is at times unnatural and forced. Thus in interpreting

Romans viii. 19-22, Mr. Bruston takes the *τῶν υἱῶν* in the sentence *τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ* to be the *gen. objecti*, not the *gen. subjecti*, and so = "the manifestation *for* the Sons of God," instead of "the manifestation *of* the Sons of God". Professor Henri Bois continues his able discussion of Harnack's view of the *Person* and the *Gospel* of Christ.

The most important article in the Novembre-Décembre issue (1903) of the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses* is one by Alfred Loisy on "The Second Gospel". It refers especially to Wrede's book *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien* and J. Weiss's *Das älteste Evangelium*. In the light of these writings and on the basis of independent inquiry, it discusses the question whether Mark's Gospel is a secondary work, a compilation of the same kind as the first and third Gospels, a product of faith rather than a historical composition.

In the October issue of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* Dr. W. E. Barton gives, under the title of "The Samaritan Pentateuch," an interesting account of the Samaritans themselves, and a statement of what he conceives to be the contribution which their version of the Pentateuch may afford to our knowledge of the Old Testament. He reviews the old controversies on the subject and the various theories of the origin of the Samaritan version which have been put forth from time to time. He agrees in most things with Kennicott, and expresses his own conviction that we "cannot account for the history of Israel without believing that the command to establish a central sanctuary, so often repeated in Deuteronomy, is much older than B.C. 621". Dr. James Lindsay writes on "The Metaphysical Needs of our Time". He can neither "share nor excuse" the "contempt of metaphysics so common in our time," but holds earnestly that such subjects as ultimate reality and the significance of the world require to be prosecuted, and that we "must press on to know to what the whole world tends; what we ourselves are, and why we do exist; yea, and for what reasons we bear ourselves as we now do". Professor Cooper gives the conclusion of his study of "Theodicy"; and among other

papers that make up a valuable number we may direct attention to Professor F. H. Foster's exposition of "Professor Park's Theological System".

The *Hibbert Journal* for January opens with a paper by H. C. Corrance on "Progressive Catholicism and High Church Absolutism," which brings out very well the difference between Harnack and Loisy as a difference not as to the facts but in the way of regarding the facts, the theory of them, and shows that Ritualism, though it has done service to certain Catholic ideas is, from the progressive Catholic standpoint, "in the main a retrograde movement". This is followed by a kind of symposium on "The Alleged Indifference of Laymen to Religion," which is interesting but does not advance matters far. There is a curious and rather far-driven paper by Edward Carpenter on "The Gods as Embodiments of the Race-Memory". Dr. Montague, of Columbia University, New York, contributes a suggestive and well-reasoned article on "The Evidence of Design in the Elements and Structure of the Cosmos". Dr. Bacon, of Yale, continues his discussion of the "Johannine Problem," dealing now with the direct internal evidence, sometimes in a rather arbitrary fashion; and Dr. Moffatt concludes his study of "Zoroastrianism and Primitive Christianity". There are also various other papers and discussions that deserve attention, *e.g.*, one by the Rev. J. H. Beibnitz on "The New Point of View in Theology," and another by Dr. L. R. Farnell on "Sacrificial Communion in Greek Religion". It is altogether a good number, varied in its contents and stimulating inquiry.

We have also to notice another edition, designated the fourth and fifth issue, of Professor E. Chr. Achelis's very compact and useful treatise on *Practical Theology*,[1] thoroughly revised; *Honour Towards God*,[2] by John Kelman, junr., M.A., a series of brief, pleasing and helpful papers on "The Value

[1] *Praktische Theologie.* Tübingen u. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 327. Price 6s. net.

[2] Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1903. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 64. Price 1s. net.

of a Point of View," "Life as an Affair of Honour," "The Trust of Life," and kindred subjects; *Gold Coast Native Institutions*,[1] by Caseby Hayford of the Inner Temple, Esquire, barrister-at-law, and of the Gold Coast Bar, a statement of the problem which England has to face in her administration of the Gold Coast and its Hinterland, based on an examination of the aboriginal State system and on a large body of evidence bearing on the political relations of Great Britain and the Gold Coast—a book full of information and advocating the imperialisation of the Gold Coast and of Ashanti on purely aboriginal lines; *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments Translated out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised by His Majesty's Special Command*,[2] an exceedingly attractive issue of the English Bible, one of the new Oxford Clarendon editions, printed on Oxford India paper, with references, maps, index, and the Scotch Psalms—a delightful edition to handle in respect of size ($6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4} \times 1$ inches), weight (15 ounces) and form, and welcome also to the eyes of many readers for the distinct, black, heavy-faced type in which it is printed; *Last Sheaves: Sermons by Alexander Maclaren, D.D., Litt.D.*[3]—a collection of discourses preached from time to time during the course of a memorable and fruitful ministry of forty-five years, ranging over a great variety of subjects—"In the Upper Room," "The Cross of Glory," "The Devout Life Here and Hereafter," "Two Shepherds and Two Flocks," "Death the Friend," "The Singers by the Sea," etc., touching each theme with the power and point of the master preacher, and appealing to all kinds of Christian need and all degrees of Christian experience; *A Hindu's Criticism of Christ Criticised*,[4] by Isaac Tambyah, advocate of the Supreme Court of the Island of

[1] London: Sweet & Maxwell, 1903. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 418.

[2] Oxford: The University Press; London: Henry Frowde. Brevier 16mo, pp. 1616.

[3] London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 316. Price 5s.

[4] Manippay, Jaffna, Ceylon: Strong & Asbury, 1903. Pp. 64.

Ceylon, an able and interesting examination of the views embodied by Mr. P. Ramanathan, K.C., C.M.G., His Majesty's Solicitor-General of Ceylon, in his work entitled *Sri Paramanda's Commentary on St. Matthew*, in which work the first Gospel is made a Hindu book, our Lord regarded as a teacher of the Yoga cult, His miracles interpreted as Yogic acts, and His agony in Gethsemane and His suffering on the cross explained by the supposition that He was in the Yogic state; *Die ältesten ethischen Disputationen Luthers*,[1] edited by Professor Carl Stange of Königsberg, a careful piece of work, giving a useful Preface and an annotated edition of the *Questio de viribus et voluntate hominis sive gratia* (1516), Three Fragments, the "Disputatio Contra Scholasticam Theologiam," and the "Disputatio Heidelbergae Habita"—the first part of what promises to be a useful series of *Quellenschriften des Protestantismus*, edited by Professors Kunze and Stange and intended specially for use in academic work; a further instalment, the fourth *Lieferung*, of the excellent and very welcome German translation of Professor Morris Jastrow's important work on *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*;[2] *From Letter to Spirit, an Attempt to Reach Through Varying Voices the Abiding Word*,[3] by Edwin A. Abbot, a volume which cannot fail to win the respect of the impartial reader for its patient and minute investigations of the Gospel narratives of voices from heaven and the love of truth which beats in its pages, but to which we cannot give our assent either in its method or in its results. The method which it follows with a view to account for the differences in the Gospel records and to explain away the facts which they attest, is, to a large extent, the application of the theory of mistranslations of primitive Christian traditions in Biblical Hebrew, and amplifications after the manner of the Jewish Targums in the process of rendering these traditions into Aramaic,

[1] Leipzig: Deichert, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 74. Price M.1.60.

[2] *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*. Giessen: Ricker; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 225-304. Price 1s. 6d. net.

[3] London: Adam & Charles Black, 1903. 8vo, pp. xxxvi + 492. Price 20s. net.

Greek and Syriac. And the results which it reaches are such as these that the words "as a dove" in the narrative of the descent of the Spirit on Jesus meant simply "as a bird seeking its home," or alternatively that they did not contain originally the term "dove" at all, that being simply a corruption of the Hebrew word for "rested"; that the words "hear ye Him," are part of a narrative describing how Christ was revealed to Peter and others as the *Messenger* in Exodus and the *Prophet* in Deuteronomy; that the precept to *take up the Cross* is probably a Western paraphrase of the Jewish precept "to take on oneself the yoke," *i.e.*, the (Jewish) yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven, etc., etc.; *Die Kirchengeschichte des Eusebius aus dem Syrischen übersetzt*,[1] by Professor Eberhard Nestle, an undertaking which has a special interest in connexion with the great edition of *Eusebius* in preparation for the *Kirchenväter-Commission der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, and carried out with a wealth of learning, a scientific exactness, and an expenditure of labour for which students of Church history owe much to the scholarly translator; another instalment, half-volume v., of the excellent *Natural History of Animals*,[2] by Professor J. R. Ainsworth Davis of the University of Wales, dealing ably and lucidly with "Animal Movement" and the various modes of muscular locomotion; a small volume on *The Sacraments of the New Testament*,[3] by the Rev. David Purves, M.A., of Elmwood Church, Belfast, intended specially for those who make profession of faith for the first time, and giving a clear and attractive statement of the view of the Sacraments held by the Reformed Churches—a book which should be helpful both to pastors and to catechumens.

[1] Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. x. + 296. Price 9s. 6d. net.

[2] London: The Gresham Publishing Company. 1903. Pp. xvi. + 280. Price 7s. net.

[3] Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1904. Pp. 85.

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Herbert Spencer.

[First Article.]

The death of Mr. Herbert Spencer has removed from our view one of the great figures of the Victorian age. He had a great place in the thought and life of the latter half of the nineteenth century. To many he seemed to be the embodiment of the spirit which ruled the later half of that century. In him the scientific spirit seemed to have become conscious of itself, to look not so much at its work, but at itself, and by reflection on itself and its work, to move onwards to grapple with ultimate questions which were the common background of all the sciences. The particular sciences had made such progress; connecting links between separate sciences had been discerned; and many were haunted with the thought that there must be a science of sciences, a way of unifying all human knowledge. This desire to unify human knowledge, to find a formula of universal application to all changes whether great or small, was the motive of Mr. Spencer during his long and strenuous life. He issued his first great work almost fifty years ago, the last of his great works appeared about ten years ago. During that long interval he laboured at his self-appointed task. In weak health, with long intervals during which work was impossible, and so weakened that at his best he could work no more than three hours a day, he yet completed his gigantic task. Thus we have had the successive volumes of the *Synthetic Philosophy*, with other volumes, such as his volumes of Essays and his treatise on Education. It is a great, strenuous heroic life, worthy of admiration, whatever be our estimate of the *Synthetic Philosophy*.

He has had many disciples, and many followers. Many regard him as the philosopher of the nineteenth century, and

believe that he succeeded in his endeavour to unify human knowledge. Others, again, think that he has failed, that his work will need to be done over again, with a regard to elements which they think he has neglected. But all agree that he is a man to be reckoned with, that his system must be taken into account by all who are interested in the evolution of human thought, whether they are philosophers, scientists or theologians. It may also be safely said that all, whatever their interest may be, may learn much from him. It is a great thing to be constrained to recognise that a system is possible which may bring all human thought into unity, that there may be a formula which may express the law of change in all spheres where change happens, and that the universe as a whole and in all its parts forms one system. Suppose that the particular formula of Mr. Spencer is inadequate, is a failure, yet is it not something worthy of recognition, that a man has lived who gave his life to the elaboration of this thought, and has so far succeeded as to make men think that such a consummation is possible and desirable? He has widened the thoughts of men, has enabled them to think in larger terms, and has done something to enable men to overcome a mere provincialism of thought. In an age of specialism he endeavoured to be universal. And such an endeavour is worthy of the highest admiration.

In reading over his works, which we have done again since his death, we have been impressed with many passages which almost have an autobiographical interest. Perhaps the knowledge of his death threw them into more prominent relief. At all events they came to us with a solemnity and a pathos which they never had had before. They revealed to us the intensity of Mr. Spencer's belief in his calling and his mission to the world. He had the persuasion of a prophet and also the solemnity of a prophet, and he was convinced that his work was a necessary work for the well-being of the world. This comes to the front in many places of his work, and in the most unexpected ways. When his health was such that he almost despaired of ever completing his great task, he published the *Data of Ethics* out of its place in the system, in

order that men might have a scientific guide to conduct, so persuaded was he of the worth of the guidance to conduct which he had elaborated as the highest fruit of his prolonged study of life. He was persuaded, too, that in him and through him the Unknowable Power had wrought out for men something which would help them onwards to more perfect equilibration. Witness that famous passage in the *First Principles* which forms the concluding paragraph of the first part treating of the Unknowable. "Whoever hesitates to utter that which he thinks the highest truth, lest it should be too much in advance of the time, may reassure himself by looking at his acts from an impersonal point of view. Let him duly realise the fact that opinion is the agency through which character adapts external arrangements to itself—that his opinion rightly forms part of this agency—is a unit of force, constituting with other such units, the general power which works out social changes; and he will perceive that he may properly give full utterance to his innermost conviction; leaving it to produce what effect it may. It is not for nothing that he has in him these sympathies with some principles and repugnance to others. He, with all his capacities, and aspirations, and beliefs, is not an accident, but a product of his time. He must remember that while he is a descendant of the past, he is a parent of the future; and that his thoughts are as children born to him, which he may not carelessly let die. He, like every other man, may properly consider himself as one of the myriad agencies through whom works the Unknown Cause; and when the Unknown produces in him a certain belief, he is thereby authorised to profess and act out that belief. For to render in their highest sense the words of the poet:—

> —Nature is made better by no mean,
> But nature makes that mean: over that art
> Which you may add to nature, is an art
> That nature makes.

Not as adventitious therefore will the wise man regard the faith which is in him. The highest truth he sees he will fearlessly utter; knowing that, let what may come of it, he

is thus playing his right part in the world—knowing that if he effects the change he aims at—well: if not—well also; though not so well" (*First Principles*, 3rd ed., p. 123).

We instance this passage as an illustration of the more than prophetic faith which Mr. Spencer had in himself and his calling. This belief was produced in him by the Unknown Cause, and he must be faithful to it. This belief upheld him during the years of his life, gave him courage to persevere and endure, gave him strength to wage war in the many controversies which arose out of his various works, and enabled him to bear neglect, and to confront opposition, and what he believed to be misapprehension and misconstruction. As to his faith in the beneficent character of his teaching, and of its importance for men, let the following passage speak: "Not only is it rational to infer that changes like those which have been going on during civilisation will continue to go on, but it is irrational to do otherwise. Not he who believes that adaptation will increase is absurd, but he who doubts that it will increase is absurd. Lack of faith in such further evolution of humanity as shall harmonise its nature with its conditions adds but another to the countless illustrations of inadequate consciousness of causation. One who, leaving behind both primitive dogmas and primitive ways of looking at them, has, while accepting scientific conclusions, acquired those habits of thought which science generates, will regard the conclusion above drawn as inevitable. He will find it impossible to believe that the processes which have heretofore so moulded all beings to the requirements of their lives that they get satisfaction in fulfilling them will not hereafter continue so moulding them. He will infer that the type of nature to which the highest social life affords a sphere such that every faculty has its due amount, and no more than the due amount, of function and accompanying gratification, is the type of nature toward which progress cannot cease till it is reached" (*Data of Ethics*, chap. x.). Not often does one find so clear an expression of a robust and vigorous faith. It is well to note it, as if we do not we shall not understand Mr. Spencer, nor appreciate the

secret of his strenuous life. To some the goal he depicts in the *Data of Ethics* does not seem attractive, nor the equilibration there reached, or depicted as reached in the far future, a desirable one. But a robust and fervent faith is so valuable a feature of human nature that we welcome it warmly, more especially as it appears in an unlikely quarter.

Turning to the volumes which make up the *Synthetic Philosophy* we notice the relative space he gives to the discussion of metaphysical questions proper, as compared with the other part of his system. Thirty-four sections are given to the Unknowable, or to put it more plainly 123 pages deal with the Unknowable, while the Knowable is set forth in some 5000 pages. When we consider that all metaphysical questions are disposed of in these few pages, and that these perennial questions are as widely discussed since the publication of the *First Principles* as they were discussed before they appeared, we must confess that the treatment of the question seems inadequate. Nor is our surprise lessened when we read what the terms of the discussion are. Mr. Spencer seemed to be caught in a backwater of metaphysical discussion, and had taken the reasoning of Hamilton and Mansel as the final verdict of reason on the knowledge of the Absolute. At best the metaphysics of Hamilton and Mansel are but a passing phase in the history of thought. The tide of thought has swept past them, and in every school of philosophy, and from every phase of thought, the questions which Hamilton and Mansel and Spencer believed they had settled are as lively and are as much discussed as before. Mr. Spencer has added little to the argument of Hamilton and Mansel, and that little is the assertion that while the absolute and infinite are beyond the ken of knowledge, yet there is a vague consciousness, or rather an "indefinite consciousness of the unformed and unlimited". With Hamilton and Mansel the notion of the absolute and infinite was wholly negative, with Mr. Spencer the notion is partially positive, yet altogether indefinite. The fact is that they called on faith to restore the defects of reason, and Mr. Spencer fell back on an indefinite consciousness, for his system needed "an Infinite and Eternal energy from which all things proceed".

It is not our purpose to examine the arguments by which Mr. Spencer justified the Agnostic aspect of his system. We have always felt, and we feel deeply to-day, how unfortunate it was that the great and fruitful theory of Evolution should have been, in the case of its most prominent originators and expositors, associated with metaphysical and other positions which have no necessary connexion with it. Agnosticism and Evolution are not necessary to one another. And it is only on rare occasions that Agnosticism is called in during the numerous discussions contained in the weighty volumes of Mr. Spencer. Nay, it is hardly ever the negative aspect of the Knowable that is called in at the critical stages of his exposition. It is not the Unknowable as such that does the work needed in Mr. Spencer's system, it is "The Power," "The Infinite and Eternal energy," "The Ultimate Reality transcending human thought," to which Mr. Spencer constantly appeals. But in truth, for the most part in following Mr. Spencer's exposition we are allowed to forget his Agnosticism, and most of his exposition might be accepted by a theist were he otherwise satisfied with it. We regret that the Agnostic aspect of his philosophy has hindered the recognition of the value of the theory of Evolution, for the theory has been fruitful of successful work in almost every department of human knowledge.

It was also unfortunate in the case of Mr. Darwin that the theory of Evolution as set forth by him, should have, also, been associated with a doctrine of chance which went a long way to make the theory unintelligible. Thickly strewn over his pages are such epithets as "Indefinite," "Endless," "Fortuitous," and the like, which induced the reader who took them seriously to think he was back among the "fortuitous concourse of atoms" familiar to readers of ancient literature. Evolution is not casual, nor fortuitous, nor unintelligible, nor is it merely mechanical. Variation is not indefinite, as is now beginning to be understood. In truth Darwin assumed indefinite variation, and did not inquire into it. What the laws and causes of variation are, we do not yet know: it will take much time and many experiments to obtain

a knowledge of the facts. What we are concerned with here is the observation that Darwin and Mr. Spencer put grave and serious obstacles in the way of the acceptance of the theory of Evolution, by tying it as closely as they could, the one to a merely mechanical theory of the universe, and the other to an Agnostic position in philosophy. Evolution is not merely mechanical, nor is it Agnostic. The fact of Evolution is as consistent, say, with Hegelianism, or with Theism, as it is with Agnosticism.

We note, to return to Mr. Spencer's Agnosticism, that the same kind of arguments which he used to prove the Unknowableness of the Ultimate Reality, have been used to prove that the finite is mere Appearance. It is instructive to read together the arguments of Mansel and of Mr. Bradley. To the one the conceptions of the Absolute and the Infinite are full of contradictions, to the other contradictions lurk in the finite and the relative. Of the Absolute and the Infinite, Mansel says: "The conception of the Absolute and the Infinite, from whatever side we view it, appears encompassed with contradictions. There is a contradiction in supposing such an object to exist, whether alone or in conjunction with others; there is a contradiction in supposing it not to exist. There is a contradiction in conceiving it as one, and there is a contradiction in conceiving it as many. There is a contradiction in conceiving it as personal, and in conceiving it as impersonal. It cannot without contradiction be represented as active, nor without equal contradiction be represented as inactive. It cannot be conceived as the sum of all existence; nor yet can it be conceived as part of that sum. A contradiction thus thoroughgoing while it sufficiently shows the impotence of human reason as an *à priori* judge of all truth, yet is not itself inconsistent with any form of religious belief. For it tells with equal force against all belief and unbelief, and therefore necessitates the conclusion that belief cannot be determined solely by reason."

Turn now from this thoroughgoing contradiction said to be involved in the conception of the Absolute and the Infinite, and read Mr. Bradley on the equally thoroughgoing contra-

diction involved in the conception of the finite, and the reader is inclined to say "a plague on both your houses". As we follow Mr. Bradley we come to be familiar with contradictions without number. He chooses conceptions very familiar, embodied in words in common use. Primary and secondary qualities, substantive and adjective, relation and quality, space and time, motion and change, causation, activity, things, self, are all shown to be contradictions. It is impossible, in our space, to give specimens of Mr. Bradley's reasoning, but we may state in a sentence of his own his general conclusion about finite truth or fact. "Every finite truth or fact to some extent must be unreal and false, and it is impossible in the end certainly to know of any how false it may be." As to Mr. Bradley's view of the Absolute or Reality, it is enough to say that it is in all respects the opposite of that set forth by Dean Mansel. It alone is without contradiction, it alone is complete, and so on. As far as he is concerned it is Mr. Spencer's Unknowable that would be free from contradiction, and Mr. Spencer's Knowable that would be riddled with contradictions.

One comes somehow to distrust reasoning that lands us in such paradoxical results, and one is sure there is a fallacy somewhere, even if he is not acute enough to point it out. It seems to the present writer, that all Mr. Bradley's reasoning about the finite just amounts to this, that from the very nature of the finite we cannot give a complete definition of anything. For anything really involves everything else, and to describe fully any relation would necessitate a description of the whole. Thus it is easy to show how incomplete our knowledge is, and how impossible to make our definition complete. But incompleteness is not a contradiction, though it may easily be made to appear so. It happens, also, that men too often forget Bishop Butler's wise saying, "abstract notions can do nothing". The reality we know in experience can never be fully represented by the abstract terms we are constrained to use, and often the difficulties we meet are of our own raising. But we may not enter on this question here. As regards the polemic of Mansel and Mr. Spencer against the Absolute,

their arguments, as Mr. Bradley shows, can equally well be used against the relative, and even more trenchantly. When the Absolute is defined as that which is out of all relation, and the Infinite as negative of the finite, it is easy to take them out of our knowledge, for there is no way by which they may be brought into relation with us. But the Absolute is not the unrelated, nor the Infinite the negative of the finite. But it will be sufficient to say that Mr. Spencer, his polemic against the Absolute notwithstanding, finally claims a real knowledge of it when he says that we know that we are in the presence of an Infinite and Eternal energy from which all things proceed. From this statement alone a Theist may draw many inferences.

While this Agnosticism stands in the porch of Mr. Spencer's philosophy, it has really not much to do with the practical working out of his system. His *First Principles* are so far independent of it, for the Persistent Force, which is his main conception, is really identified with the sum of the forces of the universe, and the Unknowable Power is left in the unknown. It has no effect in the system. This is true also of the Biology, of the Psychology, and of the Ethics. The only place in which the doctrine of the Unknowable has significance, is in the volumes on Sociology, and in them, chiefly in the sections which deal with religion. He had granted to religion a certain value, and that value consisted in its constant recognition of the mystery of the universe. He approves of that attitude and enhances it by saying that the mystery which religion asserts is greater than religion ever suspected, and that it is an inscrutable mystery. But his assertion of the Inscrutableness of the Mystery has constrained him to characterise every attempt on the part of religion to define its experience as incompetent, false, and a failure. Thus he was led to look on religions as on a wrong track whenever they attempted to think of the object of worship in defined terms. He allows that there has been a relative progress in religious conceptions, but the progress was due to science, not to religion. In truth, whenever religion leaves the attitude of blind adoration of the Inscrutable Mystery

it goes astray. Hardly any account is taken of the higher experience of the religious life. His researches into religions are limited to the religions of the rudest savages, and even these researches are not conducted after the manner of a scientific inquiry in which the theory follows the facts and rises out of them, but in a manner which suggests that Mr. Spencer had formed a theory, and had searched for illustrations of the truth of the theory and for confirmations of it. Thus his theory of the Unknowable has had a very striking effect on his treatment of the origin and nature of religion. It appears to us that it is in this department of his system that his Agnosticism has had a real practical effect on his system.

Turning to his treatment of the Knowable, one may learn much from it. One cannot but admire the range of his thought, the magnificence of his illustrations, his remarkable power of generalisation, and the wide sweep of his mental vision. It is most impressive. It is instructive, too, to turn to his Essays, and to see the first germs of the great thought that came to such colossal proportions. We hardly know when the theory of universal evolution first dawned on him, but he was working at it and working it out before the publication of the *Origin of Species*. Indeed, the Origin seemed to him to fall in with his scheme, and to illustrate a part of it. He tells us that it was through Von Baer's theory of the cell that his vague thoughts crystallised into form. "The investigations of Wolff, Goethe, and Von Baer, have established the truth that the series of changes gone through during the development of a seed into a tree, or an ovum into an animal, constitute an advance from homogeneity to heterogeneity of structure" (*Essays*, vol. i., p. 2). In 1857 he could say that "it is settled beyond dispute that organic progress consists in a change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous". In that "Essay on Progress, its Law and Cause," his system is contained in outline. It was published in 1857, as we said. The full-orbed formula of evolution does not appear till later, but it is there. From the definite incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity

through successive differentiations and integrations is the formula. It came to him through meditation on Von Baer's law. Was this a universal law applicable to all changes in all spheres of being? He answered, yes, and set out to prove it. The fact that he had the theory first had a great effect on his method of procedure. It is as if he had asked himself the question, what must the intuitions, axioms, rules, methods, laws of the universe be, if the hypothesis of evolution is true? It seems to us that the *First Principles* ought to be read from this point of view, for otherwise we can scarcely understand how the incoherencies of it could have escaped the view of so great a thinker.

The search for a homogeneity of sufficient magnitude to serve his purpose led him to the greatest abstraction known to science. Force, which he conceived not in the manner of physicists as Energy, but as something wider of which Energy was only one form, was the widest abstraction possible. He distinguishes the Persistence of Force from the Conservation of Energy, and he insisted in his controversy with Mr. Moulton, Professor Tait and others, that his was the wider conception. He plainly tells Professor Tait, that while the Professor might understand the abstractions of physics, he is unable to understand the higher abstractions. From the Persistence of Force as the deepest of all convictions he proceeded to deduce space, time, matter, and motion. "Matter and motion, as we know them, are differently conditioned manifestations of Force. Space and Time, as we know them, are disclosed along with those different manifestations of Force as the conditions under which they are presented. Matter and Motion are concretes built up from the contents of various relations; while Space and Time are abstracts of the forms of those various relations. Deeper down than those, however, are the primordial experiences of Force, which, as occurring in consciousness in different combinations, supply at once the materials whence the forms of relations are generalised, and the related objects built up" (*First Principles*, p. 169). Making no remark on the fact that the process herein described presupposes the

forms which they are said to build up, we pass to the other parts of the machinery which he invents to prove the theory of Evolution. These are the Indestructibility of Matter, the Continuity of Motion, the Persistence of Force, the Persistence of Relations among Forces. For most of these he has the authority of physics, though he states them in a form which has provoked the criticism of physicists. No physicist that we are acquainted with ever speaks, say, of the Continuity of Motion, they speak of the Conservation of Energy, they speak of energy as being transformed, and they speak of its passing from one form into another. Professor Tait, for instance, protests against the phrase "heat as a mode of motion," and insists that the correct statement is "heat as a form of energy".

We do not dwell on these further, except to quote one of his great generalisations: "Thus in all the changes heretofore and at present displayed in the Solar System; in all those that have gone on and are going on in the earth's crust; in all processes of organic development and function; in all mental actions and the effects they have on the body; and in all modifications and activity in societies; the implied movements are of necessity determined in the manner above set forth. Wherever we see motion, its direction must be that of the greatest force. Wherever we see the greatest force to be acting in a given direction, in that direction motion must ensue. These are not truths holding only of one class, or of some classes, of phenomena; but they are among these universal truths by which our knowledge of phenomena in general is unified" (*First Principles*, pp. 248, 249). We come to some of those principles which have a very close bearing on his own special theory of Evolution. These are set forth after the Law of Evolution has been expounded in four chapters, and the interpretation of it in one chapter. We look at these specially, as they are frequently referred to in the subsequent volumes of the *Synthetic Philosophy*, and because we have not ceased for more than thirty years to regard them with wonder. They are called "The Instability of the Homogeneous," and "The Multiplication of Effects".

Many times have we read these chapters, and we have for our present purpose read them over again. Proof of the first proposition there is none. The first step of the exposition is that "The condition of homogeneity is a condition of unstable equilibrium". Instead of proving this, Mr. Spencer goes on to tell the reader what a state of stable equilibrium is. He gives a good many illustrations of unstable equilibrium, but none of these illustrates the instability of the homogeneous. They, in fact, illustrate the instability of the heterogeneous. For every one of them shows that instability arises either from unlikeness in the thing itself, or in the conditions in which it is, or in the forces which play on it. We might set out against his principle the opposite one of the Stability of the Homogeneous, and support it grandly by Newton's first law of motion, "every body perseveres in its state of rest, or of uniform motion in a straight line, except in so far as it is compelled by forces to change that state". The assumption of the Instability of the Homogeneous is necessary for the working of the Spencerian theory of Evolution, and yet it is a formula which is self-contradictory, without proof, and which cannot be proved.

Nor does it fare any better with the principle of the multiplication of effects. It would be interesting to enumerate the number of times in his works in which he refers to these principles as axiomatic. The reference is always made after the manner of Euclid, when he refers to an axiom. Yet when we look at the chapter on the "Multiplication of Effects" we are surprised. The illustrations are very numerous and varied, and they seem quite fallacious. This is one and the others are similar. "When one body is struck against another, that which we regard usually as the effect is a change of position or motion in one or both bodies. But a moment's thought shows that this is a very incomplete view of the matter. Besides the visible mechanical result, sound is produced; or to speak accurately a vibration in one or both bodies, and in the surrounding air; and under some circumstances we call this the effect" (p. 432). Thus other effects are traced, such as light, heat, and so on. On such

examples as these is based the axiom: "Universally, then, the effect is more complex than the cause". Such a conclusion is possible only when we abstract the cause, place it in isolation, and regard all possible results as effects of that isolated cause. Change the point of view and take this or that as the effect and proceed to seek for its causes, and parity of reasoning leads to the doctrine of a multiplication of causes. In fact, in his reasoning Mr. Spencer neglects the connectedness of things when he speaks of the cause, and brings it in when he describes the effects. The cause must be as complex as the effect, or the effect is not explained.[1]

James Iverach.

[1] The Second Article will appear in the May issue.

Stahl's Patristische Untersuchungen.

Von Arthur Stahl. Leipzig: Deichert. 8*vo*, pp. vi. + 359. *Price M.*8.

THIS is a long book for the light it contains. Its preface makes large pretensions to scientific objectivity, whether as to strict exegetical method or due regard to the individuality of each writer; but the performance comes far short of the promise. Stahl is stirred to rescue his writers from recent one-sided hypotheses; yet it is just into one-sidedness that his own work seems to fall. No doubt Knopf presses to an extreme the idea that 1 Clement is largely composed, especially in its first part (down to chap. xxxviii.), of little homiletic discourses on such topics as *ζῆλος*, *μετάνοια*, *ταπεινοφροσύνη*, *διψυχία*—an idea in which there is much truth, if it is not taken in too "modern" a sense. But in order to prove that Knopf is wrong in denying that, even so, the letter can throw real light on the conditions at Corinth which occasioned it, Stahl insists on a closer connexion between all its parts, and a more direct allusiveness throughout to such conditions, than seems needful. He might have effected more by more moderate use of some of his own ideas. Thus he seems right in holding that the Roman Church viewed the large success of the anti-official movements, though originating with a few persons, as due to a defective *morale* in the Church as a whole—the outcome of an over-weening self-complacency, owing to earlier spiritual prosperity. This idea would go far to explain the introduction of the little homilies on such topics as those named above, which Clement must have had occasion to use time and again in his own ministry in Rome, and which stand on a par with his introduction of the long and stately prayer towards the end, from the usage of the Roman

Church. Then again, starting from the right idea that the ζῆλος in chap. v. is Jewish jealousy of the Gospel's growth among the Gentiles, he makes this determine its sense in relation to the Corinthian schism, so that this must be due to an exclusive Judæo-Christian party in the Church. A like tendency to exaggeration appears in his applying to all the eucharistic references in Ignatius the realistic sense which best suits one or two, such as Eph. xx. 2, Smyr. vii. 1. Nor is it altogether absent from the best of these studies, that devoted to Hermas, on which Stahl is perhaps justified in feeling that he has something to contribute. In so saying we have in mind not merely his confident identification of the homily known as 2 Clement with the *βιβλαρίδιον* which Hermas was, according to Vis. ii., to give to Clement to send to *τὰς ἔξω πόλεις*, but also his whole argument touching Hermas *Der Antimontanist*. To him "the *Shepherd* of Hermas is an attempt of churchly theology to overcome Montanism, by recognising the necessity of strict moral discipline, . . . and setting over against the eschatological message of the anti-churchly sect *die visionär-kirchliche*" (296). Thus it is "a high-church parallel phenomenon to Montanism. This explains its double nature; for the book bears a reforming and a polemical character" (357). If our author had contented himself with drawing a parallel between similar tendencies to bring back Christianity to its original standards of strenuousness and purity, which came to a head in Rome and Phrygia independently and at somewhat different moments, he would have helped to illustrate the situation implied in the *Shepherd* without straining the facts. As it is, the passage in Mand. iv. 3, *ἤκουσα παρά τινων διδασκάλων ὅτι ἑτέρα μετάνοια οὐκ ἔστιν εἰ μὴ ἐκείνη, ὅτε εἰς ὕδωρ κατέβημεν*, need mean nothing so specific as Stahl assumes. It is, for instance, only what more than one passage in Hebrews might easily suggest, supposing any special factor beyond the persistence in certain circles of the old stricter ideal amid a more general laxity, be requisite at all. Nor is his theory free from chronological difficulty. For even though we were free to

bring down the date of Hermas' published work as late as A.D. 150 or even later—as Stahl assumes in placing the Didache *c.* 120-150, and making Hermas implicity correct it—yet it is another thing to say that Hermas' central message and its conditions go back no further in time. Moreover what we know of the hesitant attitude of the Roman Church to the New Prophecy in the time of Eleutherus (*c.* A.D. 177), does not suggest that its discipline had already been considered and rejected in a prophetic writing of high local status a quarter of a century previously. Finally there is in Hermas no suggestion that the doctrines in question were put forward by any "prophets," though elsewhere he refers to pseudo-prophets and attributes to them anything but strict ethical views. But though Stahl's work seems to us deficient in critical judgment, it has, at any rate in the sections on Hermas, a good deal of suggestiveness, which even its diffuseness does not neutralise. An index would double its utility.

VERNON BARTLET.

Historical Lectures and Addresses.

By Mandell Creighton, D.D., etc., etc., Sometime Bishop of London. Edited by Louise Creighton. London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, 1903. 346 pp. *Price* 5s.

Of this lively and interesting volume, embodying many summarised views held by a distinguished historian lately gone from us, and exemplifying his special methods, rather more than half is occupied with aspects of religious questions, both since the Reformation and before. The whole is compiled out of eighteen essays or lectures, led by the longest of them all, the inaugural lecture of the author as Dixie Professor at Cambridge, which, together with ten others, is now published for the first time, several being printed from the reporter's notes as they were delivered. The rest had appeared in various serials before.

Bishop Creighton claims to investigate Church questions from the historical side rather than from the political, and thus "the Church and the world must be studied together in their mutual relations". He puts in a *caveat* against the picturesquely flippant treatment, and another against erecting feelings and emotions into standards of appeal. He deprecates the exaltation of personages who interest us, and whose examples are edifying, into heroes wielding a superlative influence upon the men and events of their time; and he urges the importance of his subject on the ground that "till the end of the seventeenth century, ecclesiastical history is the surest guide to the comprehension of European history as a whole". The dangers which beset the historical student with examinations in view, the method of cram, briefly touched, the many lectures listened to without intelligence or digestion, the many notebooks crowded with jottings, "inaccurate because they were not understood," all

come in for lively and trenchant rebuke. A professor, although seeking the genuine interests of these smatterers, yet should ever aim at "catching a few who may become genuine students," and with this view "must be above all things a diligent student himself". Then all who ply the same calling of the higher teacher should link on as fellow-workers and promote "literary comity," recognising a comrade in every fellow-pioneer.

Here we have the heart of a man speaking, and that heart in his work as he speaks. Those who remember Dr. Arnold's introductory lecture as Professor at Oxford of Modern History may recall how many sparks flew from that anvil with kindling effect. We have a similar ring and scintillation from the "Dixie" stithy in this inaugural address.

The genesis of the early and enduring sects of the Congregationalists and the Baptists comes next upon the record. Here our author remarks on the attitude of the State towards "opinion"—not attempting to suppress it as such, but to be "the arbiter of the limits within which the expression of opinion was permissible". It required yet another century from the rise of the "Brownists" for the wisdom of toleration to commend itself to ruling powers, and yet another for its lessons to be mastered. He adds (p. 32):—

> The State was tolerant in so far that it did not aim at enforcing unity, but it demanded a minimum of uniformity, the extent of which it claimed the right of defining. Thus the Church tended to lose the appearance of a free and self-governing body and seemed to be an instrument of the policy of the State. Its pleadings and its arguments lost half their weight because they were backed by coercive authority.

It was a yet more deplorable fact that this "coercive authority" was in fact to a large extent administered by the ministers of religion, the respect for whose office and persons had been so grievously shaken in the popular eye by the policy of the Tudor Crown. Under Edward VI. four bishops, under Mary Tudor sixteen, under Elizabeth herself all but one had been deprived of their sees by the high-handed exercise of royal power. It reminds us of the action

of a fractious child, who, impatient of the slow moves of a game at chess, sweeps the pieces from the board and breaks them. The suffrages of clergy and laity and of the comprovincial bishops in filling a see had never found place in England and find no place at this day. Comprovincial bishops, indeed, there were none, and could be none in the year 1559; for death had been so busy in the queen's first year that nine sees were thus vacant, and deprivation on the ground of the supremacy completed the tale with the exception of one. All independence of office and position had thus been made impossible in the episcopal body; and in the popular eye its members were the mere creatures of court favour. What wonder that the same eye saw in them a readiness to become the tools of royal arbitrariness? Into this position indeed the queen thrust them. When Archbishop Parker applied for enlarged power to enforce the policy which she dictated, she refused, and bade him use the powers which he had.

There is much truth in a remark of Mr. Froude that (vol. xii., p. 552)—

> The shadowy form of an (episcopal) election with a religious ceremony following it gave the semblance of a spiritual independence, the semblance without the substance, which qualified them to be instruments of the system which she desired to enforce. . . . But neither Elizabeth nor later politicians of her temperament desired the Church of England to become too genuine.

This artificiality cleaves evermore to the Anglican episcopate through history; they resemble a fence made of piles driven in by *vis major* from above, instead of being the upgrowth of the soil itself, racy of it, and full of the vigorous vitality which such an origin implies. The whole structure which depends on them is therefore feeble and dislocated, and incapable of bearing a strain, and every crisis tends to produce a deadlock. There is no choice of their spiritual ruler nor voice in his selection among the clergy or laity of an English diocese. The democratic idea, so powerful in the New Testament and in the Church of the first three centuries, is lost—and that too in an age of which the ten-

dencies are so largely democratic as to leave the Crown little else than a golden shadow. But in the Elizabethan era the Crown was the most potent of political factors; and what it did was to push the bishops on to the treacherous ice and leave them to trip and flounder as they best might. But of this special feature of Crown policy in things spiritual, Bishop Creighton has no word to say. In another lecture (p. 228) he remarks, "It has been pointed out that the sufferers under Queen Mary were not more numerous than those under Henry VIII. or Elizabeth"; but he forgets to add that Henry's regnal years were thirty-seven and Elizabeth's forty-five, whereas those of Mary were fewer than six in all. Readers can draw their own conclusions by simple arithmetic. We are indebted to his research, however, for the exploding of the popular myth of the Queen's supposed letter to the "Proud Prelate" (Ely), whom according to approved tradition she threatened to "unfrock"—a tradition which figured in the school editions of English history until lately, but which is traced by Bishop Creighton to its source in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in the eighteenth century.

In several addresses the English character, either as affected by special epochs, as the Renaissance, or by the influence of native scenery, or by the stimulus of great and rare personalities, comes in for notice. The author here perhaps shows himself at his best. Candour without affectation, and a sobriety of judgment untainted by sentimental patriotism, mark his conclusions. Here and there a literary judgment peeps out, guided by the same keenness of observation and readiness to read an inward significance in an outward feature. Thus on p. 283 we read:—

> Shakespeare has shown with curious insight the difference between Northern and Southern peoples. Othello and Romeo, when touched with passion, are pure individuals, and act entirely with reference to their own feelings. The difficulties of Hamlet lie in the fact that he could not forget that he was the heir to the throne of Denmark, and could not act in such a way that righteous vengeance should seem to be private ambition. He could not escape from his attachment to society, and therefore he will always fail to have the picturesqueness which belongs to individual detachment.

To Othello and Romeo he might have added Mark Antony; while in reference to Hamlet, he might have added that the poet has winged that character with the ideal in a larger measure than any of his full-length portraits of the loftier type. This tends largely to detach him intellectually from his social and dynastic surroundings, and so to redress the balance on its defective side. But the writer's purpose was one of pure illustration only of a historical principle, and to have pursued the literary analysis would have led him too far from his main subject.

In the minor essays we find the touches of the author's own method. He says in effect, take what lies next to hand; observe homely features; catch at first hand the impressions of a rural ramble or suburban stroll, and you will find "that beauty and charm are not a matter of size, but that their discovery depends upon the power of perception which we bring to it".

HENRY HAYMAN.

The Expositor's Greek Testament.

Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. Volume III. *London: Hodder & Stoughton*, 1904. *Imp.* 8*vo*, pp. 547. *Price* 28*s.*

THE third volume of this monumental work represents the labours of five New Testament scholars, whose names are worthy to stand together, and to each of whom the editor has committed a separate Epistle of St. Paul. Like former volumes it is constructed on the plan of Alford: an introduction being given to each Epistle, and thereafter a commentary on the Greek text. The several writers and the subjects assigned to them are as follows: 2 Corinthians, by the Very Rev. J. H. Bernard, D.D.; Galatians, by the Rev. Frederic Rendall, M.A.; Ephesians, by the Rev. S. D. F. Salmond, D.D.; Philippians, by the Rev. H. A. A. Kennedy, D.Sc.; Colossians, by Professor A. S. Peake, M.A.

The premier place in the group of contributors to this volume is undoubtedly due to Principal Salmond, whose work on Ephesians is nearly in every respect perhaps the writer's most signal contribution to New Testament literature, and, if it had been published as an independent volume, it would probably have commanded more immediately the consideration it deserves. One feels after a careful study of it that it speaks the last word on some questions involved. The Introduction is very full and interesting. All that relates to the history of the town and church of Ephesus is stated in a graphic and succinct manner, and the paragraph in which the Epistle to the Ephesians is analysed is worthy of special note, as justifying the statement that "among the Epistles bearing the name of St. Paul there is none greater than this, nor any with a character more entirely its own". Its great ideas, its series of terms of far-reaching significance, its vocabulary

and its affinities with the Fourth Gospel, Hebrews, the Apocalypse and 1 Peter, are dealt with in a way that leaves nothing unsaid. Dr. Salmond will carry most people with him in his disposal of the theory that Ephesians is borrowed from 1 Peter. Very full treatment is given to the relation between Ephesians and Colossians, and it is interesting to note that the verdicts of Dr. Salmond and that of Professor Peake, who writes on Colossians, are in perfect agreement with each other. As the latter says: "In a writer such as Paul, rich in ideas and unused to formal composition, such resemblance and yet such difference in letters written together was quite to be expected". The critic who would dispute the Pauline authorship of Ephesians with Principal Salmond has his work cut out for him, and would need to forge new weapons. Most students will be glad to find emphasised the distinctive view of the death of Christ taken by Paul in this Epistle, and its affinities with Johannine thought. While carefully adjusting the balance of evidence as between a local destination and the circular letter theory, Dr. Salmond gives his verdict for the latter view, "as Hort puts it, that the blank in the original copy sent with Tychicus was filled in with the name of the Church of each place in which it was read". In one sentence the doctrinal place of Ephesians among Paul's Epistles is happily defined. "It is a distinctively *theological* Epistle, in the sense in which the Epistle to the Romans is distinctively *anthropological* or *psychological*, and that to the Colossians *Christological*." It is also the Epistle in which the doctrine of the Church reaches its highest point. Of the Exposition of the Epistle the highest we can say is that it is entirely worthy. It is very full, and is as detailed as it is comprehensive. No portion of it could have been spared. There is plenty homiletic matter in the commentary, and it is of the right kind—suggestive and strictly textual. Here and there it causes one a pang of regret over pretty thoughts that have been built on textual inaccuracies, as, *e.g.*, when the writer disposes of "the whole family in heaven and earth," by his adherence to the R.V. "every family," and adds: "All such

ideas, therefore, as that angels and men, or the blessed in heaven and the believing on earth, are in view as now making one great family, are excluded". The exposition of the great words of the Epistle, as *βουλή* and *θέλημα*, *πρόθεσις* and *προορίζειν*, *πλήρωμα*, *κατοικῆσαι*, etc., etc., is illuminating. No more exacting task could be set to an expositor than the doxology in i. 3-8, which "extends over six verses, in one magnificent sentence intricately yet skilfully constructed, throbbing in each clause with the adoring sense of the Divine counsel," etc. Dr. Salmond has succeeded there; and it may be said at once that he never brings down the themes with which the Epistle deals, but is rather lifted by them to a level it must have been very hard to sustain. On crucial points such as iv. 9, *εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς*, he is very satisfactory, for while ending with the obvious interpretation, he gives a lengthened note which shows that he has faced all the alternatives, and has a reason for the conclusion reached. In every point of view Dr. Salmond's Ephesians will take rank as representing the highest kind of expository work.

After Ephesians, naturally, we turn to Colossians, to find, as might be expected, that Professor A. S. Peake has also done justice to a great task. In the Introduction much space is devoted to the subject of Angelology, as having an important bearing alike on the question of authenticity and on the exegesis of several passages. In relation to authenticity, it is shown that Paul's Angelology has marked coincidences with the later Jewish view; and in relation to the passages in the Epistle bearing on the angels he says: "That Christ was the Head of the angelic world was a natural thought to Paul, once he regarded Christ as its Creator, and realised its need for redemption". "The Angelology of the Epistle is thus in harmony with that of Paul, as gathered from the certainly genuine Epistles: and where it shows advance, the development is on thoroughly Pauline lines, and amply accounted for by the false teaching which it refutes. There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the Epistle on the ground of its doctrine of the worship of angels." Professor

Peake finds it unnecessary to go beyond Jewish false teaching in order to account for Paul's line of thought in Colossians. He rejects alike a Gnostic and an Essene origin of the heresies it refutes. Paul's line of refutation "consists partly in pointing the moral of their own experience, partly in a positive exposition of great Christian truths with which the false teaching was incompatible, partly in direct attack". Professor Peake's exposition of the text of the Epistle is careful and complete, and when one samples it at important points it does not disappoint one's expectations. At i. 14 *ἐν ᾧ* is rendered, "not by whom but in whom: if we possess Christ, we possess in Him our deliverance". He renders *ἀπολύτρωσιν*, "deliverance". At i. 15, which begins the great Christological passage of the Epistle, Professor Peake says: "Paul assumes the pre-existence of the Son as common ground, and is thus applying a fundamental Christian truth". The discussion and refutation of the interpretation of i. 15-17 given by Oltramare, who "eliminates the idea of pre-existence from the passage, and says that the reference is throughout to Christ as Redeemer," may be quoted as representative of Professor Peake's best work. He keeps Ephesians well in mind all through, as in the contrast: "It is only in Colossians and Ephesians that Christ appears as Head of the Church, but the emphasis in Colossians is on the Headship, in Ephesians on the Church". With reference to the effect of Christ's reconciling work on the angels, Professor Peake says: "So far then as the angel world was affected by sin, it needed reconciliation, and received it in the atoning and sin-destroying death of Christ its Head". The passage ii. 9 "asserts the real Deity of Christ". The exposition of the great passage in iii. 1-4 is disappointingly meagre, but the ethical ground covered by the remainder of the Epistle is carefully gone over.

One turns with much interest to Philippians, which has been entrusted to Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy, whose work as a new and young scholar is full of promise. The Introduction is short, but thoroughly competent, and on the special characteristics of the Epistle it is very fresh and uncon-

ventional, as indeed is the entire Exposition. Dr. Kennedy emphasises the *artlessness* of this Epistle as a characteristic which, if it had been always kept in view, would have prevented much futile theorising both in the exegesis and the criticism of the Epistle. But the charm of Dr. Kennedy's work is in his fresh, pithy, terse exposition. One sometimes desiderates a little extension, but perhaps the writer judged best; and certainly he has produced a rich mine for preachers. His use of contemporary literature is exceedingly good, and the quotations, incorporated more freely perhaps than an older expositor would care to do, are sometimes amazingly apt and happy. A very full discussion is given in i. 1 of the standing question of ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος, and the writer indicates his complete mastery of the relevant literature. He concludes for "the general equivalence in the earliest times of πεσβ. and επίσκ., and granting that their oversight and guidance were concerned with the spiritual as well as the material well-being of the congregation". In line with recent authorities he is confident that the Seven of Acts vi. were not διάκονοι, but came next to the Apostles. Dr. Kennedy has challenged criticism by his bold departure in rendering ii. 5, "Have this mind *within your community* which ye have also in Christ Jesus". He defends it on the view that "Christians then, as now, were often different in their ordinary dealings and relations from what they were in their strictly Christian life," and works out, on very modern lines, the necessity for obliterating the contrast between the two spheres of life. He admits that "the interpretation perhaps repels by its unfamiliarity". One might get used to that: but, as the late Professor Davidson once said in another connexion, it is a *modern* reading to which the Apostle had probably not advanced. The discussion of ii. 6-11, "this *crux interpretum*" as Dr. Kennedy calls it, is admirable. As he says truly, "this is not a discussion in technical theology. Paul does not speculate on the great problems of the nature of Christ. The elaborate theories reared on this passage and designated 'kenotic' would probably have surprised the

Apostle. Paul is dealing with a question of practical ethics." Under the discussion of ὅς in ii. 6, he says: "The discussions as to whether this refers to the pre-existing or historical Christ seem scarcely relevant to Paul's thought. For him his Lord's career was one and undivided." One would need time to think about his disposal of ἁρπαγμός (=ἅρπαγμα) as "something still future". The attempt to clear up the passage has certainly the merit of freshness. He has had the insight to discern the unique homiletic value of Dr. Rainy's "Philippians" in the *Expositor's Bible*, and many of its most characteristic sentences are interwoven with this exposition. For his purpose, *e.g.*, at ii. 13, nothing could be better than this: "All efforts to divide the ground between God and man go astray" (Rainy, *op. cit.*, p. 136). The occasional unconventional touch comes in at ii. 15, where the rendering of διεστραμμένη is the Scotch word "thrawn"! The exposition of chapter iii. is good throughout, and here and there one meets with a very fresh thing. Take this, under φαρισαῖος: "The survivals of Rabbinic doctrines and methods in Paul's thought, however, must neither be exaggerated, nor, because they are Rabbinic, be contemptuously dismissed. 'If God was not moving in the Rabbinic thought of Christ's day, what reason have we to say He moves in the thought of to-day?'" In a word, Dr. Kennedy has taken a line of his own, and his work does not need to fear comparison with that of any other.

The Epistle to the Galatians was safely committed to the Rev. Frederic Rendall, who has dealt carefully with such points in the Introduction as the locality of the Galatian churches. "Great weight," he says, "is deservedly attached to the opinion of Bishop Lightfoot, but it must be remembered that it was formed more than a generation ago, when comparatively little was known of the internal geography of Asia Minor, or of its condition under the Cæsars, whereas Professor Ramsay's advocacy of the opposite view is founded on intimate acquaintance with the geography and history of the country during the first century." Mr. Rendall concludes that the Galatian churches were those in the

southern portion whose foundation is recorded in the Acts. The "foolish Galatians" of iii. 1 cannot therefore be regarded any longer as volatile Kelts! A very full and careful comparison is made between Galatians and the Book of Acts, and the two narratives are shown to be in perfect agreement. The exposition is full of careful work, and every point in the Apostle's great apologia receives attention. There is a good summary in large print of each paragraph, after Lightfoot's manner, and the whole work maintains a high level of excellence, though it does not bristle with quotable passages as do some of the others.

The Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, has done 2 Corinthians with great care, and has gone minutely into all the questions that relate to the connexion between 1 and 2 Corinthians. With Dr. Denney he holds the first canonical Epistle to be the "painful letter" to which the Apostle alludes in 2 Cor. ii. 4, vii. 8, 12; but the discussion is somewhat laboured. The same remark applies to the laborious defence of the integrity of the Epistle. There is a good analysis of the contents of the letter, and a very full bibliography, but one must say, with candour, that the exposition is somewhat tame and tedious. It does not reflect the throbbing heart-beat of Paul's most agitated letter. It is typical of the kind of exposition which contents itself with setting down what Paul *said* rather than getting at what he *meant*, and in form it partakes rather too much of the "running commentary". There is nothing slight or slovenly about it, but it never flashes fire. It is unexceptionally orthodox, and bears traces of thorough scholarship and abundant learning. It will keep the student right, but it does not (to use a word of modern coinage) *enthuse* the reader: and an exposition of 2 Corinthians should. It is, in short, representative of the patient plodding scholarship of past times, and reminds one of Vaughan and Alford. But it is full of knowledge, and if the preacher knows where to supplement it, he will find that Dr. Bernard has furnished him with working apparatus.

The volume on the whole is begun, continued and ended on a high level of excellence, and very much of it deserves

much stronger praise. Its conclusions are conservative in the best sense, though the various distinguished contributors have worked with scientific method, and have shown, though unintentionally, how inevitable it is that modern exegetical work yields us the best kind of New Testament theology.

David Purves.

1. Miracles and Supernatural Religion.

By J. Morris Whiton, Ph.D. The Macmillan Co., Ltd., 1903. *Fcp.* 8*vo*, pp. 144. *Price* 3*s. net.*

2. Rousseau and Naturalism in Life and Thought.

By William H. Hudson. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903. 8*vo*, pp. x.+260. *Price* 3*s.*

3. Some Elements towards the At-one-ment of Knowledge and Belief.

By William Routh, M.A. London: Elliot Stock, 1903. 8*vo*, pp. ix.+234. *Price* 5*s. net.*

4. Rational Religion.

By Rev. H. Theodore Knight, M.A., Sevenoaks. London: Rivingtons, 1903. 8*vo*, pp. xii.+287. *Price* 4*s.* 6*d. net.*

1. THIS volume disappoints expectation. "So long as the path of progress is guided by the lamp of experience" (p. 124) is a very mixed metaphor, and the thinking is as crude as the language. The main contention is that the final proof of the Christian Revelation lies in the moral and religious renovations it has wrought on individuals and in society. So miracles are relegated from the artillery to the impedimenta of Christianity. In spite of such passages as Matt. xi. 4, they are regarded as burdens, not as proofs. Most of them are rejected as mere misunderstandings of an uncritical age. Jairus' daughter, the widow's son, Lazarus and Eutychus were mere "revivals" from the dead. Nathaniel under the fig tree, and such like, were cases of "telepathy". The Virgin Birth is "atrophied"; and though something did happen at the Resurrection of Christ, it was not the resurrection of the Body. The Bible is quoted, usually to be contradicted; but great respect is shown to the proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research. Dr. Holtzmann's

name is misspelled on page 48, and Dr. Horton repudiates the inference drawn on page 110.

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2. This volume of the "World's Epoch Makers" is a valuable addition to this valuable series. Rousseau is a problem. In all concerning himself, he was spiritually colour-blind. He was immoral, but preached a high morality. He was a liar and a cheat to the end, but was ever urging men to probity and honour. He never wearied posing, and yet one shrinks from calling him a hypocrite. Napoleon said there would have been no Revolution but for Jean Jacques: and yet Rousseau would have opposed those who logically carried out the principles he had taught. He was no systematic thinker, his views of life were one-sided and partial, his writings swarm with absurdities and inconsistencies. Yet he influenced thought as few men have done. Buffon wrote that what Rousseau said had been proved and said before—only Rousseau could make the world attend. He uttered boldly the thoughts lying in other men's minds, and by his passionate outcries against injustice, heartlessness and depravity, he became the prophet of the new social order. Professor Hudson has given us an admirable sketch of Rousseau's life, and an equally admirable summary and criticism of Rousseau's writings. This is one of the best volumes of the series.

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3. It needs courage as well as genius to believe nowadays that Christian scholarship has missed seeing obvious truths for twenty centuries. Yet Mr. Routh essays this in the volume with the somewhat clumsy title of *The At-one-ment of Knowledge and Belief*. His method assumes a Creator, but refuses to speak of the Creator as a Person. He is so great as to be hyper-personal, and therefore practically unknowable. Yet this Creator desires to communicate Himself to man. This He does through the medium of beings whom the author calls "Immortals," and whom ordinary men call angels. Further, these "Immortals" are identified with the spirits of just men made perfect. Through their ministry

the world was shaped, and Revelation given—hence the defects in both are explained. And since God rested on the seventh day, and that rest is still unbroken, the "Immortals" still rule the world. Like the Ancient Mariner the author thinks "he is the first that ever burst into that silent sea". Had he however recalled the Gnostic and other heresies of the second and fourth centuries he would have found that his "Immortals" are not new; and had he remembered Lightfoot's essay on the Colossian heresy he would have seen they are not true. There are some excellent sections in the book: but the "Immortals" are ever lurking in ambush. The double error lies in making bold assertions about Beings of whom we know nothing; and in virtually ignoring the twofold personality of Christ, and the virtue of His mediatorial work. Christ is at once the Highest and the Lowest. He bridges the chasm, and brings God to man, and lifts man to God, and no other mediators are required.

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4. This is a collection of "addresses" to men on Rational Religion. They are of an apologetic character, and deal with such subjects as Science and the Bible, Miracles, Socialism, and the four Last Things. These topics are discussed in a chatty popular style suited to the audience. Many would demur to such sweeping statements as that all the Biblical characters prior to Abraham are wholly ideal and have no vestige of historical fact, and that sundry details in the Gospels are not reports of authentic history. Many things, too, Mr. Knight regards from his somewhat contracted ecclesiastical viewpoint. The individual's relation to God is ignored, his relation to the Church is all-important. "Protestant" is a disliked word. "Schism is far more perilous than heresy." Holy Communion is *par excellence* "the Act of Popular Worship". Doubtless for those who think like the author this book will have its uses. Cowper is misquoted on page 6.

JOSEPH TRAILL.

A New Theory of Organic Evolution.

By James W. Barclay of Glenbucket. London and Edinburgh: Blackwood. Cr. 8vo, pp. 180. *Price 2s. 6d. net.*

For twenty years Mr. Barclay rendered invaluable services to his country, by the measures he promoted and was largely instrumental in carrying through Parliament. In his retirement he has given his intellectual power, earnestness and force to the solution of one of the greatest questions of science, and in the above volume we have the result. He has read much and is evidently familiar with the best works on his subject. He has thought much and deeply, and it is impossible to exaggerate the value of the contribution he has made to the elucidation of the problem, in what manner the advances were made from the simplest forms of life to the most complex.

Science, Huxley says, is simply common-sense at its best; that is rigidly accurate in observation, and merciless to fallacy in logic. Mr. Barclay proposes to test by common-sense "whether the Darwinian doctrine that the evolution of life on our planet was brought about by natural selection, and other secondary causes, accords with the ascertained facts, or satisfactorily accounts for the natural phenomena it professes to explain, and also to submit a new theory that will explain satisfactorily the admitted facts of evolution".

Organic evolution is accepted. The geological record shows that life began in simple forms, that new types successively appeared and became more and more highly specialised, until man came on the scene. The embryo of every mammal shows in the earlier stages of its growth those through which its antecessor passed, and only as maturity approaches does it assume its own special characteristics.

The part of Darwin's theory which Mr. Barclay combats

is that which ascribes the advances made from type to type, to gradual and continuous improvements by small beneficial differentiations going forward through a long course of ages, in short, spontaneous variation and natural selection. He proposes to substitute for it a new theory of advances through the Creator introducing into the germplasm of an inferior type an addition to its specific life force, which at once raised the embryo to a higher platform. It may be that in the higher organisms the fecundated ovum of an existing type was in some manner fecundated again with a new force by the divine hand, and that the old and new forces thus fecundated evolved the new type.

It needed no little courage to propound a theory of this nature. It will at once array against it many scientists, whose regnant prejudices will be roused into flame by the in-bringing of the supernatural into the course of nature. But in Mr. Barclay they have a powerful opponent, a layman to whom prejudice cannot be imputed, and who shows that he regards truth and truth only. His theory is developed in a masterly manner. It is thrown into an admirable form. Definitions are clearly given. Arguments are marshalled and stated with singular distinctness and force. Conclusions are formulated and given in brief and definite statements.

From the consideration of the facts of life and its organisations, the following principles are deduced. "In the development of the members of a race the factors are, a general life force common to all life, a specific life force peculiar to each race, and environment." "The specific life force determines the type, but the expression of the type is the outcome partly of heredity, and partly of the conditions of development." "The development of a type cannot exceed a full expression of the energy of its life forces." "Without modification of a specific life force there can be no specific variation in type." Nothing could be finer than these statements, and they are almost entirely self-evident.

The facts on which the argument largely depends are widely known and abundantly authenticated. "When," Herbert Spencer says, "we have thousands of men, whose

profit or loss depends on the inferences they draw from simple and repeated observations, and when the inferences from those deeply interested observations have become unshakable convictions, we may accept them without hesitation." Such inferences are those of the cattle breeder. He selects for breeding purposes animals that in his judgment possess the best expression of the type. He repeats the experiment with their offspring. He continues his selection till a full expression of the type is evolved. In a few generations the result is reached. Selective breeding has been pursued for three-quarters of a century, but there has been no tendency to specific variation of the type. On the contrary, the longer selective breeding has been carried out, the more forcibly do parents stamp the family likeness on their progeny. When the type has attained to its best expression, the obstacles to further advance prove insurmountable. If the young stock of the perfect type go unmated till the age when ordinary animals reach puberty, they may prove infertile, and when mated younger, the calf fails to equal its progenitors in development. Practically, a full expression of the type has been reached, and to maintain the existence of the herd its standard of excellence must be lowered by immature mating, and the process of improvement carried forward again.

Crossing cannot produce specific variation. First crosses are usually superior to either parent. They have the best qualities of both. Mongrels, however, the progeny of hybrids, are inferior and usually infertile. Crossing is rare in nature. The brown and the white mountain hares do not mate, though living on the same mountain side; neither do grouse and ptarmigan. If hybrids are bred into one of the races from which they come, in two or three generations they have all the appearance of that race, although (atavism) a representative of the other race may also appear.

Mr. Barclay proposes to divide the animal kingdom into races instead of into species. The former are much more numerous than the latter. There is considerable room for difference of opinion, as to the members to be included in a species, and difference of opinion exists. The test he pro-

poses of a distinct type is, "That its members shall not only be alike in appearance and fertile among themselves, but that their progeny shall continue fertile and the type persistent".

Against advances by small beneficial differences, which was Darwin's conviction, Mr. Barclay has many objections to urge. We can give only a few.

1. Type or race is immutable. An impure race continues but two or three generations. A pure race is persistent, and shows the same essential characteristics through all generations. No means can be devised capable of producing a radical change in the type. It is evident therefore that it is fixed, and the germplasm and embryo of an existing mammal must be virtually the same as in the first ancestor of the race.

2. The struggle for existence has a great part to play in Darwin's theory, but it is unequal to the demands made upon it. Times of stress came and weeded out the feeble of each type, and so the strongest remained to propagate a better species than before. The survivors retained their superiority, and handed it on to their progeny, and so, by successive advances, the long and slow and grand advance was made. But facts show more truly the effects of times of stress. For five years a struggle for existence has been going on in Australia, and forty million sheep have perished. The strongest have survived, but they are not equal to the unfittest of the flock five years ago, and those born during the struggle will never equal the old flock. The finest animals are not produced as the result of a time of stress, but by continuous careful protection from birth onwards. Rabbits might multiply on an island until scarcity and stress should ensue, but the survivors would come out worse than they entered. Extraordinary differences might arise and prevail, but Mr. Bateson in his work on *Materials for Variation* does not mention one that is beneficial. They are of the nature of monstrosities.

3. Continuous accumulation of beneficial differences is unknown. Beneficial differences do arise as the result of selective breeding and the absence of struggle, and Darwin asks, Why should they not go on indefinitely, and give rise

to new species? The simple answer is that they do not go on indefinitely. They come to an end in a few generations, and retrogression commences, and there is no tendency to specific variation.

4. Time effects nothing. The vastly extended period since life appeared on the earth is made much of, as affording opportunity for the greatest advances and changes. But time only affords opportunity. It can do nothing. There must be the advances to take advantage of opportunity. And these do not occur, do not go beyond their limited range. Fossils of various organisms found in primary formations are in appearance the same as species that still exist, and for them time with all the variations of the conditions of existence has done nothing. Representations of animals in Egyptian tombs 5000 years old represent also existing species. There have been 2000 generations of them and yet there is no variation. In the geological record there is nothing to support Darwin's theory. He acknowledges this but ascribes it to its imperfection. Yet if his contention were true there ought to have been some signs, clear and unmistakable, to sustain it. There is nothing in history. Animals in Egypt are the same now as thousands of years ago.

5. There are variations due to change of environment, but such as give no indication of a tendency toward specific advances.

These are the grounds on which Darwin's theory is assailed, and in the volume there is much more to the same effect. Mr. Barclay has made out a very strong case. To that common-sense which is science his facts and arguments make a powerful appeal, and it will be hard for any to show cause why they should deny that it has driven from the field, which with many it has so long held, the view that advance has been made from species to species by the accumulation of small beneficial differences continued through long ages and perfected by natural selection. Dividing animals into races, he has proved that type of race is immutable, that no specific change can by any means be

produced. The beneficial advances known advance only a little way, and then retrogression commences. If inferences are to be drawn from them, these inferences must be in harmony with their nature and action, and their nature is to make valuable but slight advances in a brief period, and their action is thus in direct contradiction to the idea of their going forward indefinitely. Mr. Barclay has given a juster view of the effect of the struggle for existence than Darwin. The weak indeed perish, but the strong are depressed in strength and those born of them in this condition are inferior. The environment can only act within a certain range. Were it greatly widened it would destroy. Weisman's contention that acquired characters are not inherited, goes to sustain that of Mr. Barclay. It is easy to imagine great changes taking place in the course of millions of years, but there must be something to sustain the imaginings. And Darwin's theory is discredited by the absence of sustaining facts. The gaps between species are considerable, and if the advances had been made by differences such as should give no evidence of their existence in thousands of years, as is the case in known historical times, the multitude of intermediates produced in the slow and partial and marked advances, must have been enormous, must indeed have been far greater than those belonging to the transformed species, and must have left vast numbers of specimens to be found in the strata of the earth.

When Darwin's theory is discredited, Mr. Barclay's is the only alternative. It is no doubt out of harmony with modern scientific ideas to represent the Creator as interposing in the course of evolution, and introducing a specific life force, by which from an inferior a higher type of animal might be produced. But science forgets its own principles, when it determines *à priori* what must have been instead of inquiring what has been. And no reason can be adduced why the divine mind should not according to the law of parsimony have delayed the introduction of a higher power into germplasm until the time came for its action. The tendency of Darwin's theory, while it does not exclude the divine presence

and action in the evolution of the world and of life, is to put Him far away and very much out of sight; and a view which shows Him at work in special ways throughout the whole period of evolution, and tends to bring Him nearer to the highest object evolved, and makes Him more living and active, is most likely to be true.

And while in history there is nothing to support Darwin's theory, we find in it the same mode of action pursued by the Creator as is presented in Mr. Barclay's. When God would raise man from a natural and worldly life to a higher and spiritual, He introduced from age to age such new forces of life and truth as man was able to receive, and at length by a special interposition, after the very manner supposed in the new theory, raised the perfect Son of Man to be the supreme power in the elevation of the race. From the beginning the Spirit brooded over creation, and at each advance specially introduced the new kind of type, even as afterwards in the Virgin. Thus do science and revelation join hands and sustain each other.

It is easy to see that this theory does not conflict with the unity of the race, for, according to it, new races would be drawn from the first.

William Profeit.

Problems and Persons.

By Wilfrid Ward, author of "William George Ward and the Oxford Movement," etc., etc. London: Longmans, 1903. 8vo, 377 pp. Price 14s. net.

THE tone of Mr. Wilfrid Ward's book on its argumentative side is one of calm politeness; which, coupled with a steadfast *ignoratio elenchi* (in the essays which relate to the Roman controversy), enables most of his appeals to thinking men to run pleasantly enough off the reel of thought. As for solid value, the first essay, "On the Time Spirit of the Nineteenth Century," has most of it. In the philosophic tracing, however, of that century's thought, should have been prominent the fact, that the process has been to efface or impair the distinction which S. T. Coleridge, founding himself on Kant, impressed upon the earlier decades of the century. That distinction was between the reason proper and the reasoning *process*, whether inductive or deductive; which Coleridge followed up by insisting on the intrinsic importance of the contents of that reason, as compared with the results of that process. Since Coleridge, the progress has been tending to magnify these results at the expense of those contents. The wide acceptance of the principles of Herbert Spencer stands in strong evidence of this tendency; so in a measure does Buckle's *History of English Civilisation.* It does not seem to have occurred to our author to include this very important feature. He founds himself largely, but with due acknowledgment, on Mr. A. J. Balfour and on the late M. Renan. Still there is quite enough of independent thought to give a substantive tone to the whole.

It might also have been expected that, among the tendencies of the *Zeitgeist* (inadequately rendered by "Time Spirit"), some notice of those which are ethical would have found place.

But our author exhausts himself through over sixty pages on the intellectual side, on its results, on the progress made by physical science and on the diffusion of material benefits accruing thereby. Never did an age more roundly illustrate the principle that civilisation has a relative impotency of moral forces, as compared with those which are intellectual in their origin and material in their outcome. Progress intellectually and materially is at best a zig-zag line, which, however, approaches such perfection as man, under those aspects, is capable of. Moral progress seems, on the contrary, to go round and round a point which it keeps in view, but hardly approaches at all the nearer. It was so in the ancient world, and is so in the modern. If the former is a zig-zag, the latter is at best a slowly converging spiral, and but for the influence of Christianity would probably show no convergency at all. A century which saw the extinction on English soil of duelling, and among all civilised races of slavery, was surely entitled to its ethical score. The *Zeitgeist* further includes an intellectual stimulus derived from that intensified nervous excitability, which is the nemesis of our scientific conquests over matter. The material world reacts at every point upon its conqueror, calling on the nerves for constantly increased exertion. The chords of the human instrument thus vibrate with an enormously multiplied frequency and intensity, until the living telegraphy within us becomes a mass of over-excited conductors. With this may probably be correlated the enhanced interest in spiritualistic phenomena, and perhaps their increased frequency of occurrence; of which telepathy may be taken as a leading form—a wide realm, the border-land of which alone has been pioneered in the later decades under strictly scientific method.

Room might have been found for some of these omissions by curtailing the space devoted to a summary of the time spirits of successive earlier ages from Thomas Aquinas and Dante downwards—not valueless, but, being over 35 per cent. of the whole essay, certainly exorbitant.

Several other essays are devoted to the present aspect of the question of the reunion of the Church of England with

that of Rome; and here we seem to see the reason for harking back to Thomas Aquinas, etc., in discussing the *Zeitgeist* of the nineteenth century. Here also it is that the *ignoratio elenchi* comes in. The *elenchus*, when examined, means unconditional submission. That was found to be so when H. Froude and J. H. Newman visited Rome in the early thirties. The claims of the Papacy have swollen enormously since then. Many who might swallow the decrees of Trent have not the capacity for the Immaculate Conception and the Infallible Chair. These, and all similar incrustations upon the faith of the fourth century, are claimed as legitimate developments, and the law of growth is pleaded alike for all. With all this extra weight piled on, the demand is still for unconditional submission. The demand assumes for the Roman corner of Christendom and its dictated rather than debated decrees, the same weight of authority which is ascribed to the œcumenical decisions of the undivided Church from Nicæa to Chalcedon.

But the entire advocacy of Romish claims seems to lose sight of the fact that the same infallibility is claimed for the Chair of Peter in the sphere of morals, as in that of doctrine. Now the first requisite of a moral teacher, and that one which is ever more indispensable in proportion to the degree of authority which he claims, is that his example should embody the moral teaching of his decisions. What then has the Infallible Chair taught *by example?* Let the whole volume of dissolute profligacy during the periods of the Counts of Tusculum, the gross turpitude of the many official acts of papal sovereignty current previous to the reforms of Gregory VII., the horrors of the Albigensian Crusade, the nameless atrocities of the Inquisition, the sanction extended to persecution—nay, the demand urged upon sovereigns to organise it as their foremost duty, give the answer. The Chair is irreformable, and cannot forego the moral decisions to which it stands committed by its own authorised actions, as being in effect its moral teaching. The whole tissue of those actions and that teaching are indissolubly interwoven in the same fabric of authority. They form its web and woof. They carry on their force throughout

history and up to now. The present Pontiff is as directly involved in and responsible for those actions as were the individual Pontiffs who enacted them in detail. This follows obviously from the idea of an Infallible Chair, which must, if true now, have been true all along. How it is that passionate controversialists on both sides have overlooked this, is a question not easy to answer. It stands obviously quite apart from all questions of development of *credenda*, being simple, absolute and primary, and underlying the whole fabric of the Roman Church as an organised government.

When, therefore, our author says, "It would seem that it is the growth of this temper of fairness and sympathy on all sides, by mutual co-operation against our common foes, irreligion, vice, . . . which will eventually lead to a real reunion, if it is ever to be attained" (p. 98), it can only be replied with regret that to persecution on principle Rome stands pledged, and that with persecution on principle a "temper of fairness and sympathy" is incompatible.

The personal sketches of Lord Tennyson and Professor Huxley are characteristic and excellent. They have been presented before, but deserve fixedness and tangibility. The incidental jottings about Macaulay, Jowett, Carlyle and others give relief and variety. The anecdote of Huxley's behaviour as a dinner-guest with Manning when Cardinal, shows that he could be as rude as Dr. Johnson, who, said Goldsmith, "when his pistol misses fire, knocks you down with the butt-end"—such was the tenour of his reply; and the worst of it is that it appears not merely as an utterance in the argumentative irritation of the moment, but deliberately recited by himself to the narrator afterwards, and that with no trace of compunction or regret.

But while pointing out the *ignoratio elenchi* which vitiates the general argument underlying the whole trend of reflection, it is only fair to admit that there are many passages which breathe a noble and generous liberality—too long, unhappily, to quote in a review like this.

HENRY HAYMAN.

1. The Revelation of the Holy Spirit.

By J. E. C. Welldon, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. Pp. 384. *Price* 6*s.*

2. The Pentecostal Gift.

Scottish Church Society. Glasgow: J. Maclehose & Sons. Pp. 248.

3. Sacrificial Worship.

By W. J. Gold, S.T.D. London: Longmans, Green & Co. Pp. xiv. + 112. *Price* 3*s.* 6*d. net.*

4. Some Old Stories Retold.

By F. W. J. Daniels, M.A. London: Elliot Stock. Pp. 110. *Price* 3*s. net.*

5. The Goal of the Universe.

By S. W. Koelle, Ph.D. London: Elliot Stock. Pp. x. + 399. *Price* 7*s.* 6*d.*

1. The writer was happily led in making choice of the subject which he discusses in this book. For it need hardly be said that the most vital energy of religious experience is that of the Spirit of God; nor can any subject be of more immediate value.

In the plan of the discussion it is the case of the intelligent Christian rather than the theological student that is kept in view; and to win the Christian intelligence to a keen and educated interest in the practical bearings of this matter is a purpose worthy of earnest commendation. The hint let fall in the preface that the writer's mind is mainly concerned with the incidental apologetic value of the doctrine also predisposes us to a favourable attitude towards the work. For that reason one may doubt whether the immediate purpose would not have been better served by throwing forward into the very first chapter what is taken as the last. The revelation of the Holy Spirit in history and the energy

of that Spirit in human affairs, are subjects of fundamental importance. The treatment of the whole question, however, is unduly narrowed when His working is limited to "the Church". "It is the influence of the Holy Spirit upon human conduct that is now the interesting question" (pp. 9, 10). "The question, then, is: Has there been in Christian history such an operation of the Holy Spirit as corresponds with the teaching of our Lord and the experience of His Apostles? And, if so, what have been its various forms and moods; how has it shown itself; or, in fact, has the general law of the Holy Spirit's influence, as already set forth in this essay, been historically fulfilled?" (p. 271).

This is seriously to limit the compass of the Divine energy; and as seriously to weaken the force of the apologetic argument. God's Spirit walks abroad; and the recognition of this fact is of capital importance in apologetic statement. Dr. Welldon, in sharpening the contrast which obtains of course between Christians on the one hand and Mohammedans on the other, appears to shut his eyes on the deeper and wider problem involved. He is not indeed insensible to the problem. It is touched upon on pp. 284, 285. But we hold that this is integral to the subject itself and not to be taken as an incident outside the argument. We believe the omission of this more intricate and far-reaching issue of the subject to be a serious deduction from the value of the essay as a whole. Along the lines however of the ordinary Christian thought of the day, the work is as good as one could desire; but more is needed if Christian interest is to be vitalised and the intelligence of the Churches to be won. We have yet to wait for the work we need.

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2. The volume is a selection of the papers read at a conference of the Scottish Church Society in Perth, 1902. The papers here included have much similarity in their themes. There is inequality in the treatment, while all aim at defending and maintaining "the reality of the Church's mission as a divine institution". This is the general point of view.

"The editorial committee," we are told in the preface, "venture to hope that the papers printed in this volume may be serviceable to the faith of those who desire a consistent apprehension of the divine basis, supernatural life, and heavenly calling of the Church." There is nothing remarkable in the discussions of the various topics to which our attention is directed in the book.

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3. This is an attractive little volume. There is a tender memorial tribute to the author, who passed away as the proof-sheets were going through the press. A synopsis of the three lectures and a portrait are furnished by his literary executor. There are interesting notes appended to the lectures. The lectures themselves are characterised by simplicity of diction, restraint and directness. They are worthy of their themes. The most luminous is the first, where the author insists on the permanence in worship of the element of sacrifice. "All that is true and earnest in the worshipful attitude of the soul within is brought to a head, concentrated and exhibited through an outward rite, which contains, after the manner of a sacrament, the inward significance, embodies it, and carries it out to a certain completion."

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4. These discourses are dedicated to men who go to no place of worship; and the sermons are quite in agreement as well in character as in aim. They are straight-spoken, unconventional and short. Directness, however, is often brusqueness; and the unconventional is sometimes secured at the cost both of dignity and of good taste. The silence of the great deep is seldom felt. As a rule one hears only the sounding surf of the rocky shore. This superficiality and an occasional vulgarism detract from the value of these manly utterances; and they labour under the further disadvantage, already hinted at, of a crude style. One would not be surprised to learn that they are the reproduction of the reporter's notebooks rather than of the direct work of the desk.

The thought of the sermons is bold and adventurous; the exegesis sometimes greatly daring: but if the test of discourses like these be the power to arrest attention, arouse inquiry, and even startle such as are at ease, then such justification they readily afford.

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5. The author has been at great pains to go through the whole of the Scriptures, exploring history and prophecy in search of every verse that sustains his argument. Occasionally he scrutinises the text, as when he urges shelloh for Shiloh (Gen. xlix. 10); but his standpoint appears to be that the order of the authorised version is the actual order of origin, and that a survey of the writings as they stand reveals the actual progress of the Revelation of God. Seemingly criticism has yielded no illuminating results, nor suggested any historical genesis for psalm or prophecy; so that each is indifferently pressed as the argument of prediction and fulfilment. The reasoning that overrides history is doubly precarious: it is unconvincing and it renders equivocal service to the orthodoxy the writer labours to set forth.

There is a largeness in the thought; and the author moves with a sense of ease and power. Within the province of his choice the author displays industry and conviction, convincing to those already convinced; but he will not speak with the enemy in the gate.

W. B. Cooper.

1. The Parables of Man and of God.

By Harold B. Shepheard, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903. Pp. viii. + 146. *Price* 3*s. net.*

2. Some Popular Philosophy.

By George H. Long. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., 1903. Pp. vi. + 113. *Price* 2*s.* 6*d.*

3. The Fulness of Time and other Studies in Theology.

By Rev. J. Conn, B.D. Glasgow: J. Maclehose & Sons, 1903. Pp. 210.

4. From Behind the Veil, or Life Studies from Job.

By H. E. Stone. London: E. Marlborough & Co., 1903. Pp. viii. + 204. *Price* 2*s.* 6*d. net.*

5. Sermons to Britons Abroad.

Anon. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1903. Pp. 290. *Price* 3*s.* 6*d. net.*

6. Vocal and Literary Interpretation of the Bible.

By S. S. Curry, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1903. Pp. xx. + 367.

7. The Book of Jeremiah.

With Introduction and Notes. By Rev. G. Douglas. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. Pp. vi. + 356. *Price* 6*s.*

8. By the River Chebar.

Some Applications of Ezekiel's Visions. By Rev. H. Elvet Lewis. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. Pp. x. + 180. *Price* 3*s.* 6*d.*

1. This book will find a welcome everywhere and has already created interest and impression. It will not command universal assent, for it deals with the relativity of knowledge, and from Mansel down to the last Ritschlian, theories of knowledge have divided the theological world right and left.

But the question is as old as philosophy. Do we know "the thing in itself" or do we attain only "to parables of the truth and not to a knowledge of reality itself?"

The latter is the proposition—or, in the modest words of the preface, "the suggestion"—at the back of the book. It consists of three divisions: the Parable of Science, the Parable of Philosophy, and the Parables of Man and of God. In the first part there is a brief but careful review of the results and notions of science, including an excellent criticism of the categories, time and space, etc. "Science is shown by reason to be based on axioms contradictory in themselves," nevertheless science works. It gives good and true results. But science is "neither the truth in its reality, nor yet falsehood, or even half truth, but can only be named *Parable Truth*".

Following up his argument through the Parable of Philosophy, Mr. Shepheard has a concise statement of the difference between this *parable truth* and other interpretations of the meaning of the world. "Agnosticism is the arbour upon the hill Difficulty into which the Pilgrim turned and slept by the way. . . . Science turns back and is content to explore the field around the paths already traversed; Agnosticism declares the barrier impassable; Idealism strains to look over, and in the flying memories of the country left behind believes it sees the vision of what lies beyond." But in none of these interpretations is there a resting-place. They offer "no real knowledge but parables and symbols only".

The last part of the book is an application to theology of the results. Mr. Shepheard has now his method by its end, and he applies it to the parables man makes of God, and to the parable-truths God makes to man concerning Himself, and about Life and its Goal. "What parable is better than a perfect human life? . . . God might have so determined to teach man how best to hasten the fulfilment of His divine purpose by Himself living man's life in the right way. He might have taught him about reality in parables spoken while He lived among men; and He might have told man who He was and the sacrifice He had made to win man's unfailing and reverent love. All this God might

have done. Did He not also do it?" This is a book of great charm, fresh in thought, and written in a clear and reverent style. It discusses a living subject. Not a new subject but certainly one that presses for understanding. For on our theory of knowledge and the objective worth of value-judgments will depend our interpretation of God and the world-problem.

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2. *Some Popular Philosophy* is a genial and wise little book, written with its eye upon the ubiquitous "Man in the Street". Its aim is neither construction nor destruction, but interpretation. "Certain heads of philosophy shall be paraphrased and certain lines of thought indicated." Taking the Psalmist's question, "What is Man?" Mr. Long gives the various answers —the solutions philosophy has found—that of Materialism, Pessimism, Hedonism, Stoicism and Christian Science.

The book is lively, perspicuous and well informed, though now and again the vivacity is apt to become a trifle smart. But it adequately fulfils its purpose and will be serviceable as a paraphrase of "certain conceptions of morality as entertained by certain thinkers".

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3. The preparation for Christ and the connexion of Christianity with the antecedent course of man's spiritual life is the subject of this book. In the thirteen chapters that compose it Mr. Conn discusses the course of that development which issued in *The Fulness of Time*, and to this task he brings competent knowledge and a wide range of reading. The book is packed full of matter, and it is particularly praiseworthy for its apposite quotation and illustration. The chapters on the Incarnation and Christianity's answer to the nature and needs of man are models of exposition and of thoughtful evangelical teaching. Perhaps larger space might have been devoted to the Ethnic Preparation for Christ, otherwise this is an excellent and serviceable book.

4. This volume of sermons on the Book of Job has been published at the request of those who found them interesting and helpful. They are not critical at all; some of the opinions would make a Higher Critic stare and gasp. The standpoint of the book is the common-sense application of the typical sufferer's experiences to the trials and problems of the life of to-day. A book rich in wisdom and wise in the consolations of God. Mr. Stone, though not obtruding the commentators, knows them and the literature that has gathered round Job. The book is at once devotional and thoughtful—a happy combination.

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5. The next book on our list, *Sermons to Britons Abroad*, also owes its appearance to the favourable impression made on those who heard the sermons, and is published on the initiative of one of these. One might perhaps wish to hear more of the deep bell-note of preaching, *as a Gospel*, but the book is interesting right through with fresh and apt settings of truth. "Faith and Friendship for Christ" and "The Chambers of the Heart" quite justify the generous preface of the anonymous editor.

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6. "To promote careful study, spiritual sympathy and interpretative power" in the public reading of the Bible—so Dr. Peabody of Harvard introduces this book in a sympathetic preface. It is certainly a pioneer in paths of its kind, for hitherto no book has approached the subject in such a rational way. No doubt we have often been told that correct expression is the outflow of correct thought, and that "the seer is always the sayer". But Dr. Curry takes us to the Bible itself, and by object lesson, exegesis and imaginative power, reproduces the situation and reads the chapter in the light of it. This is the method of the book. It has a feeling for order in the service, for impression, and, above all, for the contents of the Bible's message. There is nothing formal nor forced, nothing of the letter

that killeth, and killeth never so surely as in elocution. With this book a man can prepare himself both for writing his sermon and preaching it. The ample index gives an open door into many fresh interpretations of Scripture and to the expression of them. It is the most original and stimulating book on the conduct of public worship we have seen. May it bring in a new time in the ministry of the Word.

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7. This is a book for students, and it will come with acceptance into the hands of all those who are working at the problems of the Book of Jeremiah. Its aim is to elucidate the history of the time and assign each utterance to its own period, for on that the interpretation of the prophet depends. Therefore the strength of the book is given to *Introduction*. This is thoroughly well done.

There is a clear and accurate sketch of the historical situation in which Jeremiah worked, and full chronological tables and synchronisms, with the relative authorities and references. The problems connected with the compilation of the book are then discussed, and the principles of this arrangement, *viz.*, by time and subject-matter. Mr. Douglas has done this skilfully and with admirable clearness, and the result is an orderly view of the component parts of the book. In dealing with the *Process* of compilation a much more intricate problem has to be faced, for the *complete* solution of which there hardly exist conditions of success. Mr. Douglas favours the view that the whole book was completed before Jeremiah's death with the exception of the appendix (lii. 28-34)—the work of a later hand, perhaps of more than one.

The first part of the book concludes with a discussion and appreciation of the value of the Hebrew and Greek texts—the difference between which is greater than anywhere else in the Old Testament, the LXX being one-eighth shorter than the Hebrew. Without going into the analysis, which is careful and sensitive to the differences, it is sufficient to

say that Mr. Douglas, like most critics, concludes for the Hebrew. "The LXX has not yet been discovered to be of great value" except for confirmation of disputed passages.

For this first part of the book one has nothing but praise. It is a work of great labour and learning, full value for which can only be given by students who have been working at the prophets. As Introduction the book is altogether capable. It is weakest on the side of exposition, and this takes up two-thirds of the book. The notes are neither sufficiently important nor illuminative to warrant the proportions between the two parts of the work. We looked also for some treatment of the *theological* contents of the prophecies. Jeremiah's concept of God, the topics of sin and the eschatological outlook of the prophet might reasonably be expected to find a place in the exposition of the text. And surely the book ought to have an index.

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8. To preachers of the past, Ezekiel was, it is to be feared, a desert with an occasional oasis of wells and palms. But the commentary of the late Dr. A. B. Davidson has changed all that for the critical and exegetical interpretation of the book. It is not too much to say that Mr. Elvet Lewis has done a like service for the devotional and practical aspects of it. "The eye must be sunny that sees the sun," and there is here the mystic's sense and vision. A book of great spiritual apprehension with striking modern applications.

Mr. Lewis without hesitation reads the New Testament into the Old and brings out the implicit Christ in the earlier Revelation. It is the Method of the Master, who, on the Emmaus Road, "beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself". Withal, the book is scholarly. One admires the fulness of the exposition; the ground is thoroughly covered, and an index of chapters and verses makes every part of the book instantly available. It is not possible to quote, but the striking titles of some of the chapters give an indication of what is to be found in them—"The Man and His Task,"

"The Eternal in Time" and "The Individual". This last topic is worthy of the place Ezekiel gives to the doctrine of the Individual. The book is full of apt characterizations, *e.g.*, "the Prophet of Ritualism," "Truth and Patriotism," "the Blight of the Idol," etc. It was worth while to sit at the beautiful gate of Ezekiel's temple to see visions like these and to record them to *our* common day.

W. M. Grant.

1. Exiles of Eternity: an Exposition of Dante's Inferno.

By Rev. John S. Carroll, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. 8*vo*, pp. lxiii. + 510. *Price* 7*s.* 6*d. net.*

2. The Representative Men of the Bible.

By George Matheson, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. *Crown* 8*vo*, pp. xi. + 351. *Price* 6*s.*

3. Christ and Progress.

By David James Burrell, D.D., LL.D. London and Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1903. 12*mo*, pp. 267. *Price* 3*s.* 6*d. net.*

4. Methodism in Canada.

By Alexander Sutherland, D.D. London: Charles H. Kelly 8*vo*, pp. 350. *Price* 4*s.* 6*d.*

5. Did Jesus Live 100 Years B.C.?

By G. R. S. Mead, B.A., M.R.A.S. London and Benares: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1903. 8*vo*, pp. xvi. + 440. *Price* 9*s. net.*

1. The literature on Dante grows apace, but there is room for Mr. Carroll's able, painstaking, and original study. It is a pleasure, indeed, to read and handle this handsome volume, in which the matter throughout is clearly arranged and attractively printed. The excellence of the contents, the adequate knowledge of the poet's writings and of his history and time, the careful and minute interpretation of the text, the skill in unravelling the meaning and symbolism of an author who saw facts but had a most "tantalising genius for concealing them under a veil of allegory," and the acute and independent judgment in weighing motives and arriving at conclusions, all combine to give Mr. Carroll's book unusual value and to place him in the front rank as an authority on Dante and an expounder of his message. The aim of this

exposition is to bring out Dante's ethical teaching, and to show, in the various circles visited, the naturalness and impressiveness of the punishment of different sins. The world of the Inferno is a dark and forbidding scene, but the reaction we feel, as we descend with Virgil and Dante into its ever-increasing horrors, is a tribute to the truthfulness and power of the moral portraiture exhibited, and in no case are the penalties inflicted arbitrary or fantastic but the appropriate and inevitable expression of the Divine will and of spiritual law. The Hell or Inferno of Dante's imagination is one also of intense reality; for, in the final state of the wicked and impenitent, each guilty soul is made to feel "the awful recoil of its own evil on itself". This is the general moral principle that guides Mr. Carroll in his exposition, and he is thoroughly consistent and for the most part successful in working it out in detail.

The opening chapter gives a good and succinct biographical account of Dante Alighieri. From the facts stated in regard to the identity of Beatrice in the Introduction, and repeated in a following chapter, "The Three Blessed Ladies" (p. 42), Mr. Carroll rightly believes that the lady who swayed Dante's imagination and stirred his youthful passion was no mere spiritual abstraction but a real woman of flesh and blood. It was the nature of Dante's mind, it is well said, "to start from some concrete and literal fact," and this view of underlying fact and reality gives point and substance to the exposition that follows, and keeps the reader from being lost in a maze of allegory. Before the commencement of the actual exposition, a useful explanatory note is given on the structure of the Inferno and the accompanying diagram maps out clearly the various circles travelled by the poet in company with Virgil, his illustrious guide. The thirty chapters that follow of lucid and patient exposition are remarkable alike for broad moral insight and for minute grasp of details, and contain numerous interesting and practical reflections that show how rich and suggestive is the field of ethical inquiry opened up in the Inferno. Nowhere, not even in the two chapters (ix., x.) which deal with

"The City of Dis," where heretics are securely enclosed, and where we travel over one of the most obscure parts of the whole poem, are difficulties shirked. This thorough treatment of the subject makes Mr. Carroll's book useful and indispensable to beginners, while those who, like Mr. Gladstone, delight to take large draughts of Dante, will find themselves led on by the continuity and thoughtfulness of the exposition as a whole. In cases where Mr. Carroll differs from the ordinary line of interpretation, he gives good reasons for his opinion, as in choosing Pilate (Dr. Schaff's suggestion, p. 58) to represent the caitiff soul that was guilty of "the great refusal". Still more ingenious is his reasoning in explanation of "the fire on the feet" that represents the punishment of the Simoniacs (p. 287), and equally his interpretation of the sin and punishment of the alchemists who attempted to "ape nature" (p. 407 ff.).

Sometimes the elaborate and impersonal character of the exposition is relieved by touches of the author's individual quality, as in the terse and caustic comment on the cowards and time-servers who people the Ante-Hell of the Neutrals—"The breed has not died out yet" (p. 53). The explanation of the casting away of the cord that bound Dante's waist, as his definite breaking with the Franciscan order and the failure of that method of discipline, is a good specimen (chap. xv.) of the historical and moral insight that is applied to different passages and problems in the poem. Nor is there wanting a sense of the grim humour that lights up the Inferno, when we see how the Simoniacal popes, whom Dante is not afraid to treat justly, are placed in their fitting circle and have their heads laid on the *feet* of their predecessors in token and caricature "of that Apostolic succession which they had bought and sold" (p. 289). Mr. Carroll's admiration does not blind him to the limits of Dante, and his admissions of the poet's weakness—"a certain readiness to listen to quarrels" (p. 417), and of acts of savage passion and cold treachery on his way through the Inferno, towards one or two hapless mortals, are especially suggestive. In a word, we are instructively reminded that Dante's aim in the *Commedia* "is not simply

to reveal the sins of others but also to confess his own" (p. 441). The last chapter of the exposition, "The Conversion of Dante," is a fine piece of writing, and shows that Mr. Carroll in differing from an authority like Dean Plumptre has penetration and guidance to offer of his own. At the risk of resembling Wesley's friend who had "the greatest genius in little things," we may point out that "Fatterers" is a clear misprint (p. 274), and "bounds" in the quotation from Tennyson (p. 366) should be "bound". The wonder is that, in the numerous illustrative passages drawn from Aristotle and Aquinas, and the relevant modern writers, the errors are so few. We cordially congratulate Mr. Carroll on the appearance of his first and great book, and we hope he will be induced to continue and complete his masterly exposition.

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2. Dr. Matheson's issue of a second series of Representative Biblical Characters will be welcomed by the numerous readers of the corresponding first instalment. The plan of this supplementary is the same as that of the preceding volume—to occupy the place of the original artist and, apart from historical and critical questions, to seize and elucidate the representative feature of the character and incident dealt with. The men of the Bible are thus taken to represent different phases of humanity, and the author seeks by a frequently felicitous title ("Melchisedek the uncanonical," "Aaron the vacillating," "Boaz the kind," "Jonah the narrow," etc.) to fix on the central feature of each character, and to make it the starting-point of a vivid, interesting, and suggestive study. This method again illustrates the author's brilliant qualities of style and imagination, but it is accompanied also with dangers and defects. We feel at times that the interpretations given are arbitrary and artificial, and the point of view too limited and absolute. In short, Dr. Matheson's gifts in these pictorial sketches are those of the impressionist, and a reference to the historical conditions is needed to supply a corrective. To call Lot "the Lingerer,"

and to say that "he never could be classed among the lapsed masses," seems neither exact nor appropriate. To say in this same study that the expression in Hebrews, "the spirits of just men made perfect," means "the spirits of just men made generous," and later (chap. xiii.) to single out Isaiah as "the Philanthropist," is enough to make the late Dr. A. B. Davidson turn in his grave! While some chapters, as on Aaron and Boaz, are full of fine insight and natural interpretation, others like those on Isaiah ("Isaiah had a great admiration for the nursery") and Jeremiah ("the Melancholy") strike us as paradoxical and one-sided, and not sufficiently influenced by the central truth. But, defects and exaggerations apart, this volume will find readers who will take pleasure in the author's suggestive and original treatment of familiar Bible characters. Though engaged in studying the figures in an old gallery, Dr. Matheson's eye is essentially modern—"If in the portrait of Boaz we saw the anticipation of a Girls' Friendly Society, we see in the portrait of Mephibosheth the anticipation of a Home for Incurables" (p. 201). It is part of the fascination of this volume that its author is everywhere as unconventional as Melchisedek and at times as daring as Daniel. We admire Dr. Matheson's fertility of mind, the variety of the portraits he presents, and the unfailing vigour and freshness of his style.

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3. Dr. Burrell writes in a free and forcible fashion and offers his volume as "a discussion of problems of our time". His arguments and affirmations will hardly meet the demands of thoughtful and critical readers, but his influence may communicate to some a spirit of religious confidence and vigour. The outlook of the author is hopeful, and is expressed in such chapters as "The Unchangeable Christ," "Two Unchangeable Books" (The Bible and Nature), and "The Unchangeable Plan of Salvation". In answering the question "Are revivals out of date?" Dr. Burrell sensibly urges that future revivals will be less emotional and more

"distributive" in their character—each Christian, that is, must go forth and be an evangelist. A Scottish writer would not make "Sterling" the scene of Bruce's prowess, and the name of "Professor Delitsch," as given on p. 81, calls also for correction.

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4. The history of Canadian Methodism was delivered by Dr. Sutherland as the Fernley Lecture in 1903, and is written in a clear, modest, and business-like way. The lecturer belongs to a Church that has been busy in making history and has allowed little time to write it. The pioneer days of the history traced go back to the period 1765-1780, and witnessed the rise of the Methodist Church in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Upper and Lower Canada. Union with the British Conference was effected in 1833, to be dissolved in 1840 and restored again in 1847. In 1873 a new era opened with the founding of a Foreign Mission in Japan, and ten years later the Unification of Canadian Methodism was, after much debating, happily carried through. Dr. Sutherland had an honourable share in these proceedings, and was well qualified to narrate the history of a Church which to-day includes a million of people, or nearly 20 per cent. of the population of Canada.

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5. Mr. Mead has already issued various works under the auspices of the "Theosophical Publishing Society," and the present volume is an elaborate "Inquiry into the Talmud Jesus Stories," etc., and is meant to be "a contribution to the study of Christian origins". The author passes by prejudiced adherents of "Christianity" and "Judaism," and appeals to "men and women who have experience of life and human nature, who have the courage to face things as they are". In laying aside traditional views, Mr. Mead enters on a learned and intricate inquiry, showing an acquaintance with the Talmud literature and sources which few will pretend to share. We confess we have not "the courage to face things" as they are contained in this volume,

and we are the less ashamed and disappointed when we find the author making this candid confession in the closing sentence of his last page (436)—"For my own part, I feel at present somewhat without an absolutely authoritative negative to the very strange question: 'Did Jesus live 100 B.C.?'" We can only wonder that Mr. Mead has written so many pages in view of such a result.

W. M. Rankin.

Waiting upon God. By the late A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh. Edited by J. A. Paterson, D.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. + 378. Price 6s.

The reception given to the volume of sermons published after the lamented scholar's decease under the title of *The Called of God* has been such as to do more than justify his executors in making a second selection out of the stores he left behind him. And this second volume is at least as remarkable as the first in the fine qualities of penetration, spiritual insight, striking expression, and rich and varied experience. Most readers probably will place it even higher than the other, if any comparison is thought of. Only four of the selected discourses deal with Old Testament subjects, "Waiting upon God," "The Servant of the Lord," "David Repentant," and "I know that my Redeemer liveth". But they are all on subjects on which few men could speak as Dr. Davidson, and they are memorable addresses. The remaining fifteen are all on New Testament subjects—"The Temptation," "The Transfiguration," "Christ's Authority," "The Power of His Resurrection," etc. The first two on the list are discourses to be read and read again. They are profound and suggestive, yet withal eminently simple and practical expositions of great and mysterious themes. And each of the discourses which follow these has its own character and exhibits some new aspect of the preacher's power and perception.

A Short History of Ancient Peoples. By Robinson Souttar M.A., D.C.L. With an Introduction by the Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A., D.D., Professor of Assyriology at Oxford. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. 8vo, pp. xxi. + 728. Price 12s.

This is a volume which should meet a widely felt want. Its object is to give the main facts of ancient history in clear outline and bring them within the reach of all readers. It makes no pretension to original research or first-hand knowledge. Its aim is the humbler one of giving a connected view of the results of the inquiries of others, and presenting this in popular form. Diligent use has been made of the writings of acknowledged masters in the various departments of the history of ancient nations, and every effort has been made to get at the most recent results of investigation. It is no light task to make all this good. The author, however, has succeeded on the whole in doing what he aimed at. There are differences indeed between different parts. The author's tread is firmer in some provinces of his study than in others. That is only what is to be looked for in so vast and various a territory. But the summaries are generally speaking well done, although there are inaccuracies and inadequacies here and there. Egypt gets the first place, a rapid sketch of its history from its earliest period down to Cleopatra being given within the compass of sixty-eight pages. Babylon, Assyria, the Medes and Persians are next dealt with. Then follows a summary of the history of the Hebrews, beginning with Abraham and ending with Herod. Brief statements regarding Phœnicia and Carthage next prepare the way for Greece and Rome. These latter get the lion's share of attention, and the account given of them is remarkably good. The writer is evidently much more at home here than he is with the story of the remote civilisations. The book has some good maps, and it is published at a very modest price. On the whole, though it is by no means of the same quality throughout and is felt sometimes to touch its subject with a rather light hand, it gives a good readable view of the main course of events, and fulfils the object with which it is written. It will be of much use to a large class.

Men of the Covenant. The Story of the Scottish Church in the years of the Persecution. By ALEXANDER SMELLIE, M.A. Author of *In the Hour of Silence.* London: Andrew Melrose, 1903. 8vo, pp. xii. + 440. Price 7s. 6d.

This is a very handsome book, admirably got up and furnished with thirty-seven illustrations which add much to its attractiveness. It is also well written—written indeed with a glow, for the author is an enthusiast in his subject. His heart and his intellect are both on the side of the men who did and suffered so much during twenty-eight years of persecution. Not professing to be a wholly dispassionate historian, he throws himself generously into their circumstances and their case, and writes as one who is their champion by conviction. And whatever shortcomings may be discovered in them, and whatever mistakes they may be judged to have made, they deserve all that Mr. Smellie says with so much fervour about them. "In the march of years," as he happily puts it, "the heroisms of the past, its agonies and triumphs, fade very quickly into a mist of indistinctness. New events, new debates, and new achievements come crowding in; until their predecessors are well-nigh forgotten." It is his object to "recall a noble past, and to summon from the shadows which begin to gather about them some stalwart and noble figures in whose fellowship it is good to linger".

He has done his task well. No doubt objection will be taken to some of his estimates of men and judgments of events. But he has written a book that will go to the hearts of many readers and rekindle their pride in a strenuous past. Commencing his subject with a prologue which introduces us to the churchyard of the Greyfriars, Glasgow Cathedral, and St. Margaret's, Westminster, he gets speedily to the heart of his story, and gives vivid sketches of the Drunken Parliament, the great Argyle, James Guthrie, Sharp of that Ilk, John Livingstone of Ancrum, Samuel Rutherford, Johnston of Wariston, William Guthrie, Robert Leighton, Claverhouse, Dalzell, and other figures who stand out most prominently in the bitter and long-during struggle. In point of style

these sketches are all well done. Some of them are quite felicitous and there are quieter bits of description, such as "Sabbath Morning in Fenwick," which are of great merit. It is a good book for Scotch people and others to read. The writer has done his best to be just to others while maintaining the rights of the Covenanters and upholding the heroism of the persecuted. "The twenty-eight years of the persecution," he says, "whilst they have an absorbing and manifold interest, are set with snares and pitfalls; and the pilgrim through them when he seeks to shun the ditch on the one hand, is ready to trip over into the mire on the other." He does not doubt that errors have crept into his recital, and he makes no claim to "the fulness and certitude of the expert". But he can rightly claim to have done all that he could to understand his theme.

The Gospels as Historical Documents. Part I. The Early Use of the Gospels. By Vincent Henry Stanton, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Ely Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge: University Press, 1903. 8vo, pp. xv. + 288. Price 7s. 6d. net.

The undertaking of which this volume is the first instalment is one of great importance. Professor Stanton is in many respects well qualified to carry it through. Students of the New Testament will receive the book with satisfaction and will look with expectation to the parts that are to follow it. We trust that the learned author may be enabled to bring his inquiry soon to a successful completion, and that we may speedily have the benefit of his studies on the origin, composition and relations of the Gospels in their completeness. In the second part of his work he promises to deal with the Synoptists, in the third with John, and in the fourth with questions which "can most conveniently be considered connectedly for all four Gospels".

In the present section the trustworthiness of the Gospels and the question of their dates are examined in the light of a careful study of external evidence. Early Christian literature is examined critically and historically with a view to ascer-

taining the references the various writings give to the existence of the Gospels and the indications they offer of the use which was made of these documents, the esteem in which they were held, etc. This inquiry is prosecuted in the most painstaking way, in a spirit detached as far as possible from preconceptions, and with a strict regard to objective historical testimony. Beginning with Clement of Rome, Ignatius and Polycarp, it leads us on through the Didache, Barnabas, Hermas, Aristides, Papias, Clement II., Marcion, Basilides and Valentinus to Justin Martyr, whose case is investigated at length, a whole chapter being given to it. The interval between Justin and Irenæus is next taken in hand. The closing chapters are devoted to the worth of the Asiatic tradition regarding the Apostle John and the position of the four Gospels at the end of the second century. Interspersed are a number of valuable notes on such subjects as the "form of ancient books as affecting habits of quotation," the "parallelisms with the Gospels in the Apostolic Fathers," and others, the "position of recent criticism in regard to Justin's use of our Gospels," the "apocryphal matter in Justin," etc.

The general conclusion reached by Dr. Stanton is of interest. He thinks there is ample historical testimony to the effect that "by the middle of the second century the chief Churches must have read all four Gospels and regarded them as authoritative". He admits it to be possible that even nearly as late as this there may have been "important Churches which did not possess all the four". But he lays stress upon the consideration, which he believes he has made good, that in the Church of Rome they "seem all to have been in use some thirty years earlier". He points out, too, that there were means of testing the claims of the Gospels, which make it difficult to suppose that they could have made their way as they did unless their credentials had been sufficient. Of the four he thinks the first has the most abundant signs of early use; that the testimony of Papias points to a connexion between this writing and a Hebrew document by the Apostle Matthew; and that the terms used in the report

of Papias' words suggest that Matthew's work has been incorporated in the Greek Gospel, though the latter is "not in any strict sense a translation of the former". As regards the position of the Second Gospel he calls attention to the fact that, while parallelisms and quotations in its case are scanty, there is stronger attestation for the author's name than is to be found for the others, and that this may be relied on all the more confidently because Mark was not a man of special eminence. The comparative obscurity of Luke is held in like manner to favour the ascription of the Third Gospel to him — that ascription itself going as far back as Irenæus and the use of the Gospel extending farther back still. As to the Fourth Gospel the differences between it and the Synoptists are thought to be in some respects a guarantee of authenticity; while there is at the same time strong evidence both for "the work of the Apostle John in Asia in the last part of his life and for his authorship of the Gospel".

These are cautious conclusions. They do not seem to us by any means to go beyond the objective evidence. Even these conclusions are not given without some qualification. It is admitted, for example, in the case of the Fourth Gospel, that the "idea of actual authorship might almost imperceptibly have been substituted for a more indirect part in the work, that of a witness and teacher whose utterances had been embodied in it and had inspired it". There are, of course, not a few points in so large and complicated an inquiry on which Professor Stanton's views may be open to question. The expressions, for example, in the Ignatian Epistles which seem to him to indicate acquaintance with the Fourth Gospel may not carry us quite so far, while they are good for proving at least the existence at the time of ideas like those embodied in the characteristic teaching of the Fourth Gospel. The testimony of Hermas, again, may not be construed as it is here, cautious as Professor Stanton is in his judgment of it. But one cannot read the book without feeling that the writer is generally very sure of foot. Those who wish to have the passing excitement of fine theorising and novel hypotheses need not go to Professor Stanton. But those who have any

liking for solid, sober and modest work in this important field of inquiry will not be disappointed with this book.

Eusebii Pamphili Evangelicae Praeparationis Libri XV. Ad codices manuscriptos denuo collatos recensuit, Anglice nunc primum reddidit, notis et indicibus instruxit E. H. GIFFORD, S.T.P., olim Archidiaconus Londinensis. Oxonii e Typographeo Academico, 1903. 8vo, pp. 2730. Price £5 5s.

This is a work which takes us back to the great days of English scholarship. Erudition at once extensive and precise, a patience that grudges no pains, a thoroughness that leaves nothing unconsidered which has any bearing on the subject in hand, are united here in the production of a book which will rank among the most solid achievements of our time in sacred learning. Nor has anything been lacking on the part of the delegates of the Clarendon Press to give the work distinction also in its form. A worthy edition of the *Praeparatio* has long been wanted. Dr. Gifford has splendidly supplied the lack and has given us what will long continue the standard edition.

The work consists of four volumes, or rather of five, as the third is in two parts. The first two volumes are occupied with the text and notes (mostly critical). There is an important Latin preface which enumerates the various manuscripts, editions and versions of Eusebius, discusses their worth, and provides a critical estimate of the trustworthiness of the author and the historical value of his statements. An *Index Scriptorum* and an *Index Rerum et Nominum* are added, which will be of great use. The third volume is taken up in the first instance with matters of introduction—the relation of Eusebius to Pamphilus, the date of the work, its occasion, its method, its style and its contents. A complete list is also given of classical fragments and quotations preserved only in Eusebius. Then comes the Translation in two parts—Part I. containing Books i.-ix., Part II. Books x.-xv. The fourth volume contains a great body of notes on the various questions of history, scholarship and interpretation that arise in the

text. The translation, it should be added, is sold separately at the price of 25s. net.

It is interesting to notice some of the conclusions to which so rare a scholar as Dr. Gifford has come. One of these is that the correct rendering of the title *Εὐσέβιος τοῦ Παμφίλου* can only be "Eusebius, son of Pamphilus," and that this means in all probability that Eusebius was the adopted son of Pamphilus. With regard to the plan of the *Praeparatio* his conclusion is that there is an orderly and appropriate scheme in the book, and that this is sufficiently indicated by Eusebius himself. The matter is carefully arranged and the subject dealt with in groups of three books. Dr. Gifford, therefore, dissents from Bishop Lightfoot's estimate, which finds a want of distinct divisions and a lack of a proper starting point or definite occasion for the various topics which emerge. Dr. Gifford also brings out very well the opportuneness of the work. It was undertaken at a time when Constantine had become fully alive to the power of the new religion and was considering whether the old worship was worthy to continue—when a reply also was greatly needed to the attack upon Christianity which Porphyry had left behind him. The date can be pretty clearly fixed as about A.D. 314, or a little later, on the basis of a statement which refers most naturally to the action of Licinius in A.D. 313. The date is significant. The reply which Eusebius undertook was wisely adapted to the circumstances, and it remains to this day a work of great importance in various respects.

We should naturally have been glad to find in the *Praeparatio* more of Eusebius' own mind on various things than we get. What we have, especially in his statements on fate and free-will, makes us wish to have more. But Eusebius chose another way, and it is of advantage to us that he did so. He adopted the plan of showing what Paganism was as it was set forth by its best men and ablest supporters. This he was careful to present in the very words of its advocates. Thus he gives us a vast collection of quotations from the leading philosophers. And these quotations are of great value to us. They throw light on many things bearing on

the condition of the heathen world, the position, growth, beliefs and practices of the Church, the text of the Platonic Dialogues and other philosophical works of the Greeks.

The volume of notes is a perfect mine of material. It is a book of reference to which students of many different departments of inquiry will find it profitable often to repair. But it is not necessary to say more of a work in which all English scholars will have a just pride. It goes far beyond all that has hitherto been done on the subject, in the *editio princeps* of Stephens, the editions of Viguier and Gaisford, the texts of Migne and Dindorf, the translations of Seguier and Donato, the monograph of Haenell, the articles by Lightfoot and others.

St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. A Revised Text and Translation, with Exposition and Notes. By J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Dean of Westminster. London: Macmillan & Co., 1903. 8vo, pp. viii. + 314. Price 12s.

The plan followed in this commentary is somewhat unusual. We have the accustomed introduction, and we have the Greek text, with footnotes in the ordinary form. But between the two we get another handling of the subject in the form of a translation and exposition. The more strictly philological matter is given in the notes on the Greek text. This "Exposition" is one of a more popular kind, dealing only with the English text, but drawing out St. Paul's meaning in a freer and fuller fashion and putting the various statements made in the Epistle more in the form of a pulpit lecture or running interpretation. There are some obvious drawbacks to this method, especially an almost inevitable repetition now and again of the same statements in briefer and fuller forms. But it has also unmistakable advantages. It certainly makes the general tenor of the various paragraphs clearer and brings the thought nearer us.

The Introduction touches on some things which, while of great importance in themselves, are not very directly relevant here—the limits of our Lord's ministry, for example, the limitation also with which the Church started, the crisis

that came in connexion with Stephen's wider teaching, etc. These are but introductory, however, to a very good statement of the mission of Paul as the successor of Stephen, his special preparation to be the champion of a free Gospel, the course which his ministry ran, the problems he had to deal with, the places which he made the centres of his work, and the way in which the Epistle known as that to the Ephesians came to be written. With most scholars Dean Robinson regards the Epistle as a circular letter which was meant to "go the round of many Churches in Asia Minor," and which would naturally go first to the capital of the Roman province. He thinks it probable, therefore, that "the opening sentence contained a space into which the name of each Church in turn might be read". The introduction is brief and passes by a good many questions of interest or of difficulty. But it touches on what is most essential for one to know who is to profit by the popular exposition which follows, and it closes appropriately by calling attention to the special interest which this Epistle should have for the present time.

The notes on the Greek text are seldom very long but they are always helpful. They show on every page competent grammatical scholarship and the gift of historical interpretation. Read in connexion with the "Translation and Exposition" preceding them, they have a greater value, and they are always given in clear and pointed terms. Much important matter which might have found its way into the notes is transferred to the end and is given in the form of a series of longer notes or discussions. These deal with such subjects as the meaning of *χάρις* and *χαριτοῦν*, "The Beloved" as a Messianic title, the meaning of such terms as *μυστήριον*, *ἐνεργεῖν*, *ἐπίγνωσις*, *πλήρωμα*, *συναρμολογεῖν*, *πώρωσις* and *πήρωσις*. There are also two instructive dissertations on current epistolary phrases and on the more important various readings. These add greatly to the value of the book.

There is much both in the exegesis and in these more elaborate discussions at the end on which one is tempted to

linger. For one thing the aorists are generally handled in a somewhat free fashion. In the case of ἐξελέξατο, *e.g.* (i. 4), it is remarked that we may render it either "He hath chosen" or "He chose," and that this applies to all the aorists in the paragraph. But in this way it seems to us Paul's precise point is in several instances missed, and that his meaning becomes clearer and more impressive when the aorists get their definite historical sense. And this apart from any rigorous application of the genius of classical use to New Testament Greek. On terms like ἐσφραγίσθητε (i. 13) we miss any attempt to get at the real idea expressed by the word and to explain it. On the other hand the term ἀρραβών is dealt with in a full and instructive way. An interesting reference is introduced to the use of the word in the papyri, which gives a new turn to the idea. It is one, however, which it is difficult to believe to have been in Paul's mind. Too many of the great doctrinal terms receive inadequate treatment. One of these is ἀπολύτρωσις, with regard to which the very questionable remark is made that the idea of simple "emancipation" is dominant, and that that of "payment seems wholly to have disappeared". So is it with the statement of the Headship of Christ, καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ (i. 22), the difficult phrase τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς (ii. 3), etc.

The term μυστήριον, on the other hand, is admirably handled. Its history is carefully traced; its various applications are noted; and the conclusion is reached that there is "no connexion between the New Testament use of the word 'mystery' and its popular religious signification as a sacred rite, which the initiated are pledged to preserve inviolably secret". The philological note on πλήρωμα is also of great value, whether one agrees with the application made of it in the commentary or not. The ways in which nouns ending in -ις and -μα vary in their use and lose on occasion their distinctive meanings are noticed; Bishop Lightfoot's handling of the term πλήρωμα is criticised with some point; and the applicability of the sense of "complement" or "full complement" is carefully argued. The result

is that in ii. 23 Dean Robinson understands Paul to mean that the Church is that without which Christ Himself would be incomplete. This is an idea for which undoubtedly something is to be said. It is perhaps the more attractive to some minds because it is at first sight startling and brings the sense of mysteriousness with it. Nevertheless we have our doubts whether the argument for linguistic use is so strong as it is made to appear, and whether the idea will fit in with the unmistakable tenor of Paul's thought here. For what his mind is filled with and what he brings home in many ways to his readers is not what they are to Christ but what Christ is to them, and what the grace of God has done for them in Him. The phrase *τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν* is treated as an adverbial phrase, a more emphatic form than *παντα πασιν*. There is a suggestive note on the term *ὑμεῖς τὰ ἔθνη*, in which reference is made (in the light of Canon Hicks' article on "Some Political Terms Employed in the New Testament") to the contrast which came to be expressed after the time of Alexander the Great between *πόλεις* and *ἔθνη*. The commentary indeed is always particularly instructive when it has to deal with terms associated in any way with Greek or Roman custom, law, political order and the like.

The volume will take high rank among commentaries on this profound Epistle. In more than one respect it occupies a place of its own, and it is a thoroughly independent study. Its value will be increased, if the author sees his way to enlarge his introduction and give his views on the more important questions bearing on the origin, history and relations of the Epistle.

The Atonement and the Modern Mind. By the Rev. James Denney, D.D., Professor of New Testament Language, Literature and Theology, United Free Church College, Glasgow. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi.+117. Price 2s. 6d.

This volume consists of three lectures which have already appeared in *The Expositor*. They are intended to make a supplement to the author's book on *The Death of Christ*.

They have all the qualities of clear, vigorous and incisive exposition for which the author's writings are so favourably known. Their object is in the first place to bring out the characteristics which mark off the mind of our own time from that of an earlier period, and in the second place to present the central truth of Christianity in a form really adapted to this condition of mind. This is a thing which requires to be done, and Dr. Denney has done it well so far as his limits allow. His analysis of the "Modern Mind," in respect of the new conceptions, scientific, philosophical and historical, which make it what it distinctively is, and his statement of the changed attitude which this implies to such truths as that of the atonement, are of great value. Nor is he less satisfactory, in our opinion, in his defence of the doctrinal expression which has been given by the Church of Christ generally to that truth. There are some points which we should put differently. There is more in the *unio mystica*, we believe, than Dr. Denney allows. There is more also in the great idea of representation than seems to be recognised. But we are at one with Dr. Denney in the general view which he takes of the teaching of the New Testament on the subject of Christ's sufferings and death, and we are persuaded that nothing short of the doctrine of substitution, correctly stated and cleared of certain extreme logical refinements which have been too much in favour with certain classes of theologians, but which do not belong to the essence of the question, will satisfy either the testimony of the New Testament or the cry of conscience.

Dr. Denney always sees his way clearly, and can state his case with complete precision. He has also the enviable gift, possessed by few, of being entirely certain that his way of looking at things is the right way. This gives force to his averments, although it may tend to make some minds less disposed to concur. The book will be felt by all to be a powerful presentation of a great subject and a notable contribution to the theology of the Christian doctrine of Atonement.

S. D. F. Salmond.

Notices.

In the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* Dr. A. H. Japp gives an interesting series of papers on "Curious Jewish Customs". In the February issue he deals with "Salt and Salting" and "Jewish Marriage".

In the *Methodist Review* for March-April we notice articles by Professor Lockwood, of Allegheny College, on "The Critical Doctrines of Wordsworth and Coleridge," and President Little, of Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, on "Herder and Religious Thought"—both well worth reading. Professor Jacob Cooper writes forcibly on the theme that "Uniformity in Nature Disproves Agnosticism". Dr. G. P. Eckman contributes a good paper on "The Intellectual Life of Jesus," in which, among other things, he brings together the facts recorded in the Gospels bearing on the question of the Kenotic doctrine. He expresses the opinion that they "raise a strong presumption, to say the least, that Jesus did not possess absolute divine omniscience, and afford a singularly impressive interpretation of that inscrutable self-impoverishment and self-emptying of the Son of God which Paul describes in 2 Cor. viii. 9 and Phil. ii. 5-11, and which is known to theologians as the *Kenosis*".

The first issue of the *International Journal of Ethics* for the year opens with a brief paper on "The True Democratic Ideal," by W. Jethro Brown, of University College, Aberystwyth. This is followed by an able discussion of "Relativity and Finality in Ethics," by T. C. Hall, of Union Theological Seminary, New York, the point of which is that the only hope for "the ethical future of the race is the careful insistence on the one hand on the finality of our moral obligation, and, on the other, on the relativity of our ethical knowledge," and that it is the duty of "the moral man" to bring these together "in an ideal, which is an advancing one, but for him

embodies final obligation until a better ideal takes its place". There are very readable papers also by R. A. Duff, Glasgow University, on "Proverbial Morality"; Robert McCunn, University College, Liverpool, on "The Cynics"; Commissioner S. J. Barrows on "Crime in England"; W. A. Watt, Glasgow, on "The Individualism of Marcus Aurelius," and others. The question raised by the emperor's "Meditations" in the minds of all interested in Theism, as Mr. Watt puts it at the close of his able discussion, is "how far such patience and such faith in righteousness as he possessed are independent of a theistic basis, and whether his spiritual insight was in accordance with, or went beyond, his philosophy".

In the first issue of the *Revue de Théologie et des Questions Religieuses* for the year M. C. Bruston concludes his discussion of the Phœnician inscriptions of Sidon, and the editor his very careful and instructive examination of Harnack's views of the Person of Christ and the Gospel. M. Jean Friedel contributes some good reflections on the Vedantist philosophy, and there is a paper by M. Ménégoz which explains the differences between his colleague, M. Vaucher, and himself on the question of the conditions of salvation, dealing specially with the distinction between salvation by *faith* and salvation by *beliefs*.

In the first quarter's issue of the *Princeton Theological Review* for the current year Principal Sheraton continues his studies in our Lord's teaching, taking up now His teaching concerning His mission, in connexion with which we get good discussions of revelation, redemption and judgment, and some severe words on the Kenotic doctrine. The feature of the number, however, is a series of four public addresses here printed—the inaugural lecture delivered by Professor W. P. Armstrong on the occasion of his induction into the Chair of New Testament Literature and Exegesis in Princeton Seminary, giving a good summary of the *Witness of the Gospels;* an address by Professor B. B. Warfield on "Spiritual Culture in the Theological Seminary," pressing upon students of Divinity the primary necessity for taking every item of their work as a religious duty; a lecture by Professor

John De Witt on "Jonathan Edwards"—a valuable study on the great New England theologian, in which he is compared and contrasted in an interesting way on the one hand with men like Augustine, Dante and Calvin, and on the other with Emerson, etc.; and an important exposition of what is meant by *Theological Encyclopædia* and what it covers, being the inaugural address delivered by Dr. Francis L. Patton on entering on the duties of President of the Theological Seminary at Princeton—in which position we wish him many years of useful work.

The *Revue de Philosophie*, ably conducted by É. Peillaube, in its February issue contains some good discussions, a number of careful reviews of books and three instructive articles—one by George Fonsegrive on the "Moral Problem," another by Paul Hermant on the "Nature of Emotion," and a third by N. Vaschide et Mlle. Pelletier on "Anthropology —the Physical Signs of Intelligence," in which last we get a report of laboratory work in experimental psychology in the Asylum of Villejuif.

In the first part of the fifth year of the *Teologisk Tidsskrift* Cand. Theol. L. Bergmann contributes an elaborate study of Leo XIII.

Among the articles of chief interest in the first issue of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for 1904 we may refer to those by President Charles Franklin Thwing on "The Teaching of Christ and the Modern Family"; Dr. James Lindsay on "The Development of Scientific Thought in the Nineteenth Century"; and Professor Julius A. Brewer on "The Psychological Study of Jesus' Words". Professor Frank Hugh Foster gives an excellent summary and criticism of "Professor Park's Theological System," and there is an interesting statement on "The Influence of the Russian Liturgy".

The *Church Quarterly Review*, No. 114, opens with a paper on "The Church in South Africa," which deals mainly with the position and prospects of the Anglican Church in that country. This is followed by a severe criticism of Dr. Fairbairn's "Philosophy of the Christian Religion," which is described as a "Philosophy of Phrases". The third article

is one of the kind in which the *Church Quarterly Review* so often shows itself at its best. It is a careful, scholarly statement on the "Criticism of the Synoptic Gospels" in respect of the "historical value" of these documents. This article, which is the second of a series, deals largely with the question of the credibility of the stories of the miracles as a part of the larger question of the historical character of the resurrection. It claims that the evidence of the records, when they have been critically sifted, must not be "set aside on *à priori* views of what is possible or impossible, because in connexion with the person of Christ we are not in a position to say that anything is impossible". The writer concludes that "for the miracles (including the resurrection) which are found in Mark and in the Logia source used by the writers of the first and third Gospels and in St. Luke's 'special source' the evidence is very good, and that there is no reason why it should not be accepted". The closing article, which has for its subject "The University of London," is also one of great interest. It comes at the proper time and deserves close attention.

The outstanding feature of the current number of the *American Journal of Theology* is the section headed "Recent Theological Literature," in which a number of very competent hands review a long list of books and minor publications belonging to all the different departments of theological study. This is done in a thoroughly well-informed, painstaking and informing fashion. The formal articles are also of much value and of varied interest. There is a popular sketch and estimate of "The Religious Situation in Paris" by a writer who gives only his initials. This is followed by a paper by Professor Frank C. Porter, of Yale, on "Inquiries concerning the Divinity of Christ," which puts very clearly some of the "problems of the historian with reference to the beginnings of this faith and some inferences that may be drawn from the history as to our own standpoint". Professor McFadyen writes on "Hellenism and Hebraism," expounding briefly, but with much perception, the spirit and temper of the two great peoples, the Greeks and the Hebrews.

Professor G. T. Knight, of Tufts College, gives a good statement on the subject of the "New Science in Relation to Theism," and Professor E. König, of Bonn, contributes a critical note on "The Problem of Job," in which he criticises Friedrich Delitzsch's recent book on *Job*, especially with regard to the restrictions put upon the extent of the "genuine Job" and the description of the main portions of the poem as "Pessimism's Song of Songs". The still more recent theory of Eugen Müller, expounded in his *Der echte Hiob*, is also subjected to searching examination.

In the current number of *Mind*, there are some admirable criticisms of books, including Dewey's *Studies in Logical Theory*, Flint's *Agnosticism*, Binet's *L'Étude Experimentale de l'Intelligence*, and others. Mr. F. H. Bradley writes at length, and in a way that stimulates thought, on the old question of "The Definition of Will," his conclusion being that "we must suppose that special dispositions everywhere precede, and are the foundation of will". There is a shorter paper by W. H. Fairbrother on "The Relations of Ethics to Metaphysics," in which it is contended that the "subject-matter of Ethics is as much an integral portion of the real world as that of any other science". C. M. Walsh continues the discussion of "Kant's Transcendental Idealism and Empirical Realism"; and there is a paper also by G. D. Hicks on "Professor Adamson's Philosophical Lectures," which claims for these lectures a permanent place in philosophical literature.

We have pleasure in calling attention to a new series of historical publications for which there is room and which promises well—a series of "Texte und Untersuchungen," with the title of *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, undertaken in connexion with the "Verein für Reformationsgeschichte," and edited by Dr. Walter Friedensburg of Stettin. The first issue[1] contains two contributions of considerable interest, one by Dr. P. Kalkoff, of Breslau, on "Die Vermittlungspolitik des Erasmus und sein Anteil an

[1] Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn, 1903. 8vo, pp. 100. Price M.4.40; to subscribers M.2.80.

den Flugschriften der ersten Reformationszeit," and another by Professor Paul Tschackert, of Göttingen, on "Antonius Corvinus ungedruckter Bericht vom Kolloquium zu Regensburg 1541". There are also some pages of "Mitteilungen" on questions of sources, biographical and other inquiries, etc.

The literary announcements of Messrs. T. & T. Clark for spring, 1904, include: *Selections from the Literature of Theism.* Some principal types of religious thought. With introductory and explanatory notes. By Professor Alfred Caldecott, M.A., D.D., King's College, London, and H. R. Mackintosh, M.A., D.Phil., Aberdeen. *The Theology of the Old Testament.* By the late Professor A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D. Edited by Principal Salmond, D.D. (International Theological Library.) *By Nile and Euphrates.* A record of discovery and adventure. By H. Valentine Geere. Illustrated by over thirty original photographs, new plan of the Niffer Mounds and several maps. *The Teaching of Jesus.* By Rev. D. M. Ross, D.D., Glasgow. (Bible-class Handbook series. Edited by Professor Marcus Dods, D.D., and Alexander Whyte, D.D.) *Outlines of Pastoral Theology for Young Ministers and Students.* Translated and edited by the late Professor W. Hastie, D.D. *Faith and Knowledge.* By the Rev. W. R. Inge, M.A., Hertford College, Oxford. *Christus in Ecclesia.* By the Rev. Hastings Rashdall, D.C.L., Fellow of New College, Oxford. *New Light on the Life of Jesus.* By Professor C. A. Briggs, D.D., D.Litt., New York. *Descartes, Spinoza, and the New Philosophy.* By Professor J. Iverach, D.D., Aberdeen. (The World's Epoch-Makers Series.) *The Principles of the Reformed Religions.* By the late Professor W. Hastie, D.D., Glasgow University. (Croall Lectures.) And the extra volume of Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.*

We notice also these—*Eternal Life, its Nature and Sustenance*,[1] by R. Somervell, M.A., in the main a restatement, done with much carefulness and sympathy, of the chief points in the late Dr. John McLeod Campbell's volume on *Christ, the Bread of Life*, written in an entirely fair

[1] London: Elliot Stock, 1903. Small Cr. 8vo, pp. 53. Price 2s. 6d.

and charitable spirit, but designed to urge on the High Sacramentarian theologians a reconsideration of the position which represents Christ's person as sacramentally identified with the consecrated elements—a position which Mr. Somervell holds to be incongruous with our Lord's thoughts and words and inadequate to the "spiritual content of His language"; a second edition of Maynard Butler's *The First Year of Responsibility*[1]—wise and sympathetic "talks with a boy"—the very book to put into the hands of a young man at school or college at the dawn of his intellectual life and in face of the temptations of youth; *Die heutige Auffassung und Behandlung der Kirchengeschichte, Fortschritte und Forderungen*,[2] by Hans von Schubert, Professor der Theologie und Consistorialrath in Kiel, an address delivered originally at a conference, and discoursing in a sensible way on the sources and the materials of Church history, the way in which the matter is most effectively arranged and presented, etc.; *Wie predigen wir dem modernen Menschen?*[3] by Lic. Theol. F. Niedergall, an earnest and at times an eloquent discussion of what the New Testament is and what man is, how the former seeks to move and comfort, and how the latter is to be reached by its statements and appeals, and how the preaching of the Church is to fulfil its function better by a better attention to the message contained in the Bible and the subject to whom it is addressed; *Jesus und seine Predigt*,[4] by Erich von Shrenck, a book consisting mainly of a series of addresses delivered to educated laymen in Riga, giving in clear, simple and forcible language a general outline of our Lord's preaching, its characteristics, its doctrines of God and man, its conceptions of the law, the moral ideal, and ethico-social problems, its disclosures of the Messianic consciousness, the

[1] London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1903. Pp. 117.

[2] Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902. 8vo, pp. 33. Price 9d. net.

[3] Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902. 8vo, pp. iv. + 181. Price 3s. net.

[4] Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 234. Price M.2.40.

things of the end, etc.—all which is done in a way wisely adapted to the audience in view; *Der pseudocyprianische Traktat "De Singularite Clericorum," die Hypotyposen des Theognost, der gefälschste Brief des Bischofs Theonas an den Oberkammerherrn Lucian*,[1] by Adolf Harnack, an elaborate investigation of the history of the Tractate falsely attributed to Cyprian and hereby shown to be the work of the Donatist Bishop Macrobius in Rome, accompanied by an exposition of its historical value as a Donatist production of the third quarter of the fourth century, and followed by a series of interesting fragments of the *Hypotyposes* of Theognostos of Alexandria, carefully edited with relevant testimonies, an estimate of their worth, etc.—and also by a discussion of the *Letters of Bishop Theonas to Lucian* which were given to the public in 1675 in d'Achery's *Spicilegium*, to which for a long time great importance was assigned by Church historians, but which are now shown by Harnack (in agreement with Batiffol and Mommsen) to be a fabrication made up in all probability not earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century; *Christian Socialism in England*,[2] by Arthur V. Woodworth, Ph.D., an instructive and vivid sketch of the history of the Christian Social movement in our land from the time of its inception under Maurice and Kingsley to the present date, with interesting statements of the different phases it has assumed, its influence on Trades Unionism, the weakness of its early economic theory, the rise and progress of the co-operative movement, the various economic and religious changes which took place between 1848 and 1880, the work of the Guild of St. Matthew, etc.—a useful and well-written treatise on questions of great importance; *Faith's Perplexities*,[3] by Robert J. Drummond, D.D., Edinburgh, a volume well worth reading and fitted to be a real help to believing

[1] Texte und Untersuchungen, hrsg. von V. Gebhardt und Harnack. N. F., ix. 3. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. 8vo, pp. 117. Price 3s. 6d. net.

[2] London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 208. Price 2s. 6d.

[3] London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. + 312. Price 5s.

minds disquieted by things in life and doctrine which are hard to understand, taking up such questions as the reasonableness of religion, the trustworthiness of the Gospels, the personality of Jesus, the permission of sin, the difficulties of prayer, miracle, etc., and handling them in a broad and popular way with a view to the reassurance of those who already believe; *Recollections of James Martineau, with some Letters from him and an Essay on his religion*,[1] by the Rev. Alexander H. Craufurd, M.A., formerly Exhibitioner of Oriel College, Oxford, a welcome addition to the literature we already possess on James Martineau, the work of a friend who could appreciate Martineau and value him at the highest, but who could also look critically into his theological position, who in these interesting and pleasantly written pages records the impressions which were gathered through many years, and gives us statements of Martineau's opinions, his likes and dislikes, his verdicts on men, books and public movements in Church and State—in which some extraordinary things are said on such subjects as *Calvinism*, betraying curious prejudices and misconceptions, but which make a considerable contribution to the better understanding of the man, his philosophy and his theology; *Luther's Ninety-five Theses samt seinen Resolutionen, sowie den Gegenschriften von Wimpina, Tetzel, Eck und Prierias und den Antworten Luthers darauf*,[2] by Lic. Dr. W. Köhler of the University of Giessen—a volume which carries out in an effective and scholarly way a happy idea, providing us in handy form with a critical edition of the famous Theses along with brief explanatory remarks and the chief replies and counter-replies made at the time, a useful piece of work, well worth the doing; *The Promise of Life*,[3] by J. F. Tinling, M.A., second edition with some small alterations of a book published in 1881 in support of the doctrine of conditional immortality, following the usual non-historical exegesis and putting the argument more as it

[1] Edinburgh: George A. Morton; London: Simpkin Marshall & Co., 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. + 233. Price 3s. 6d. net.

[2] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 211. Price 3s. net.

[3] London: Elliot Stock, 1903. Pp. 139. Price 1s. net.

was a quarter of a century ago than it is now; *Schenute von Atripe und die Entstehung des national Aegyptischen Christentums*,[1] by Johannes Leopoldt, a laborious work of the kind that finds a fit place in the well-known *Texte und Untersuchungen*, the result to a very large extent of matter lying in manuscript hitherto unused by Church historians, which has been collected with much care from the great libraries of Berlin, Cairo, London, Naples, Paris, Vienna, etc., and on the basis of which the learned author constructs the story of the father of the national Egyptian Church, giving us also a very full account of the man himself, his character, his theological position, and his labours both within and without the monastery, his services to the Coptic Church, the religion and political condition of the Copts of Upper Egypt about 400 A.D., etc.; *Taufe und Abendmahl bei Paulus*,[2] by W. Heitmüller of the University of Göttingen, an examination of the various passages in the Pauline Epistles bearing on the questions of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the result of which is that the two sacraments are closely connected in these writings; that they are represented as means of grace; that they are related to the enthusiastic-mystical side of Pauline Christianity rather than to the ethical-personal side; that they have their roots not in the Gospels but in the soil of universal religion; and that their value is made none the less by the fact that they are to be carried back to religious ideas and practices which prevailed in the ethnic religions far away in primitive times; *The Church's Failures and the Work of Christ*,[3] being the charge delivered by the Bishop of Rochester at his second visitation, written in a somewhat hard style, but making some frank acknowledgments, and giving some pungent counsels; the fourth part of Canon

[1] Texte und Untersuchungen, hrsg. von V. Gebhardt und Harnack, N. F., x. i. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. 8vo, pp. ix. + 213. Price M.7. net.

[2] Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. 56. Price 1s. 6d.

[3] London: Macmillan, 1903. 8vo, pp. 48. Price 1s. net.

Cheyne's *Critica Biblica*,[1] dealing with 1 and 2 Kings, in a way that occasionally yields suggestive emendations, but oftener makes one wish that the versatile author would give us much less of his fantastic Jerahmeel notion (which meets us again in most pages, and in the strangest connexions), and return to the more profitable order of work by which he used to be known; *Israel und Babylonien*,[2] an essay by Professor Hermann Gunkel, which had its occasion in the "Bibel-Babel" controversy, and which claims for Babylonian ideas a large influence in the religion of Israel, tracing it in the narratives of the Creation, Paradise, the Deluge, the story of the Patriarchs, etc., but criticising in a very keen and informing way much that has been advanced by Delitzsch and others not only on these subjects, but on the Angelology of the Old Testament, the Hebrew Sabbath, the madness of Nebuchadnezzar, etc.; *Keilinschriften und Bibel*,[3] by Professor Heinrich Zimmern, of Leipzig, another of the many publications called forth by the "Bibel-Babel" controversy, giving a concise statement of the relations in which the cuneiform inscriptions and the Bible stand to each other, as these are expounded by the author more at length in the third edition of Schrader's *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, and carrying the inquiry also to some extent into the field of the New Testament—a useful little book containing much in small space; the eighth volume of the sixth series of *The Expositor*,[4] edited by Dr. W. Robertson Nicoll with his wonted ability and success, and containing among many other valuable articles, Dr. James Denney's series on "The Atonement and the Modern Mind," Professor Findlay's

[1] London: Adam and Charles Black, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 397. Price 3s. net.

[2] Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 48. Price 1s. 6d. net.

[3] Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 54. Price 1s. net.

[4] London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

"Studies in the First Epistle of John," Professor Garvie's exposition of "The Value-Judgments of Religion," Professor Bennett's three papers on "The Life of Christ according to St. Mark," and Professor Swete's three studies of "The Teaching of Christ".

Record of Select Literature.

I.—Old Testament.

Fischer, J. Die chronologischen Fragen in den Büchern Esra-Nehemia. (Biblische Studien. Hrsg. v. O. Bardenhewer. 8. Bd. 3. Heft.) Freiburg: Herder. 8vo, pp. x. + 98. M.2.40.

Schell, V. La Loi de Hammurabi (vers 2000 av. J. C.). Paris: Leroux. 18mo, pp. iii. + 77.

Beardslee, J. W. Outlines of an Introduction to the Old Testament. New York: Revell. 12mo, pp. 215. $1.20.

Jedlicska, J. Der angebliche Turmbau zu Babel, die Erlebnisse der Familie Abrahams u. die Beschneidung. Leipzig: H. Seemann Nachf. in Komm. 8vo, pp. 373. M.4.

Gelbhaus, S. Esra u. seine reformatorischen Bestrebungen. (Zur Geschichte u. Literatur des zweiten jüd. Staatswesens.) Wien: R. Löwit. 8vo, pp. 60. M.1.80.

Marti, K. Dodekapropheten, erklärt. 1. Hälfte. (Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament, hrsg. v. K. Marti. 20. Lfg. 1. Hälfte.) Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. 240. M.3.75.

Westphal, A. Jéhovah. Les Étapes de la Révélation dans l'histoire du peuple d'Israel. Cahors, impr.: Coueslant. 1-4, fasc. 8vo, pp. 258.

Schechter, S. Midrash hag-gadol, forming a collection of ancient rabbinic homilies to the Pentateuch. Genesis. Cambridge: University Press. 4to, pp. 468. 30s.

D'Ezragues, M. B. Les Psaumes, traduits de l'Hébreu. Paris: V. Lecoffre. 8vo, pp. lxiv. + 427. Fr.4.

André, L. E. T. Les Apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament. Florenz: O. Paggi. 8vo, pp. 350.

Prothero, Rowland, E. The Psalms in Human Life. London: J. Murray. 8vo, pp. xi. + 415. 10s. 6d. net.

Kühule, K. Die Echtheit des biblischen Schöpfungsberichts. 2. Vorträge. Berlin: F. Zillessen. 8vo, pp. 51. M.0.40.

Valeton, Jr., J. J. P. De Psalmen. Dl. II. Psalm xlii.-lxxxix. Nijmegen: H. ten Hoet. 8vo, pp. ii. + 360. Fr.6.

Calvijn, J. De Profetiën van Ezechiel verklaard. Hoofdstuk i.-xx. Naar de uitgave van het Corpus reformatorum uit het Latijn vert. door J. Lugtigheid. Afl. 1. Kampen: J. H. Kok. 8vo, pp. 1-40. Fr.0.20.

Old Testament Articles.

Jensen, P. Schriften zur sog. Babel- u. Bibelfrage. *Lit. Centrbl.*, 50, *Sep.* 1903.

II.—New Testament.

Loisy, A. Le Discours sur la Montagne. Paris: Picard et fils. 8vo, pp. 148.

Loisy, A. Le quatrième Evangile. Paris: Picard et fils. 8vo, pp. 964.

Michael, J. O. Die Gottesherrschaft als leitender Grundgedanke in der Offenbarung St. Johannis. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis derselben. Leipzig: F. Jansa. 8vo, pp. 74. M.1.

Bolland, W. E. St. Paul and his Churches. London: S.P.C.K. 12mo, pp. 152. 2s.

Dobschütz, E. v. Probleme des apostolischen Zeitalters. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. iv. + 138. M.2.70.

Weinel, H. Die Gleichnisse Jesu. Zugleich e. Anleitg. zu e. quellenmäss. Verständnis der Evangelien. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 8vo, pp. vi. + 130. M.1.

Gutjahr, F. S. Die Glaubwürdigkeit des irenäischen Zeugnisses üb. die Abfassung des vierten kanonischen Evangeliums. Aufs Neue untersucht. Graz: Leuschner & Lubensky. 8vo, pp. vii. + 198. M.5.

Ceulemans, F. C. Commentarius in Actus Apostolorum. Malines: Dessain. 8vo, pp. 320. Fr.3.20.

New Testament Articles.

Hilgenfeld, A. Das Johannesevangelium und seine neuesten Kritiker. *Z. f. wiss. Th.*, 1, 1904.

Lombard, E. Les extases et les souffrances de l'apôtre Paul; essai d'une interprétation de 2 Cor. xii. 1-10. *Rev. d. Théol. et de Philos.*, 5, 6, 1903.

Albani, J. Hebr. 5. 11-6, 8. Ein Wort zur Verfasserschaft des Apollos. *Z. f. wiss. Th.*, 1, 1904.

III.—Historical.

Kalthoff. Die Entstehung des Christentums. Neue Beiträge zum Christusproblem. Leipzig: E. Diederichs. 8vo, pp. iv.+155. M.3.

Fueter, E. Religion u. Kirche in England im 15. Jahrh. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. iii.+78. M.2.

Shahan, T. J. The Beginnings of Christianity. New York: Benziger Bros. 8vo, pp. iii.+445. $2.

Hauck, A. Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands. IV. Tl. 2. Hälfte, 1. u. 2. (Doppel-) Aufl. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. x.+417, 1016. M.17.50.

Bruders, H. Die Verfassung der Kirche von den ersten Jahrhunderten der apostolischen Wirksamkeit an bis zum J. 175 n. Chr. Mainz: Kirchheim & Co. 8vo, pp. xvi.+405, mit 1. Karte. M.15.

Soden, H. v. Die Cyprianische Briefsammlung. Geschichte ihrer Entstehg. u. Überlieferg. (Texte u. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur. Hrsg. v. C. v. Gebhardt u. A. Harnack. Neue Folge. X. Bd. 3. Heft.) Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. viii.+268, mit 2. Anlagen. M.10.50.

Achelis, H., u. J. Flemming. Die syr. Didaskalia. Übers. u. erklärt. (Die ältesten Quellen des orientaiischen Kirchenrechts, 2. Buchh.) Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. viii. + 388. M.12.50.

Reville, Jean. Liberal Christianity. Its Origin, Nature and Mission. Trans. and edited by Victor Leuliette. (Crown Theological Library, vol. iv.) London: Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 205. 4s.

Völter, D. Die apostolischen Väter, neu untersucht. 1. Tl. Clemens, Hermas, Barnabas. Leiden: Buchhandlung u. Drückerei vorm E. J. Brill. 8vo, pp. vi. + 472. M.8.

Detmer, H. Bilder aus den religiösen u. socialen Unruhen in Münster während des 16 Jahrh. II. Bernhard Rothmann. Kirchliche u. soziale Wirren in Münster 1525-1535. Der täufer. Kommunismus. Münster: Coppenrath. 8vo, pp. 146. M.1.75.

Historical Articles.

Berbig. Nekundliches zur Reformationsgeschichte. *Th. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1, 1904.

Wurm, A. Cerinth—ein Gnostiker oder Judaist? *Th. Quartschr.*, 1, 1904.

IV.—Doctrinal.

Knox, G. W. The Direct and Fundamental Proofs of the Christian Religion: an Essay in Comparative Apologetics. New York: Scribner. 12mo, pp. viii. + 196. $1.20.

Sheldon, H. C. System of Christian Doctrine. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye. 8vo, pp. xi. + 635. $2.50.

Pahncke, K. H. Idealisten u. Idealismus des Christentums. Allerlei aus vergangenen Tagen f. die Zeit v. heute. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 195. M.2.80.

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Herbert Spencer.

[Second Article.]

A system must begin somewhere, and Mr. Spencer begins with an indefinite homogeneity. There is some difficulty in getting it to work. But the nebular theory is at hand and serviceable. His treatment of that hypothesis is admirable. Written as it was in 1858 it is wonderfully up-to-date. There is nothing in it incompatible with the new astronomy, nor with the new knowledge won through spectrum analysis, and with the new light cast on the ultimate constitution of matter by the results won by physical chemistry. The researches of such scientists as Crooks, Professor J. J. Thomson and others make it probable that the ultimate constitution of matter is homogeneous. So far his view has been justified. It was difficult to explain the aggregation of matter from the law of gravitation alone. It was not possible to explain the evolution of chemical matter from the homogeneous stuff, but now such an evolution is conceivable. Ions, electrons, and the discoveries of what they can do, have put a much more powerful instrument into the hands of the inquirer, and may enable us to read a more wonderful story of evolution. Pre-atomic evolution is possible, and the mode of it may be discovered. When he began his theory with homogeneous matter, endowed with forces of attraction and repulsion, Mr. Spencer did not think that he had explained the origin of things. In a powerful and remarkable passage he says: "It remains only to point out that while the genesis of the Solar system, and of countless other systems like it, is thus rendered comprehensible, the ultimate mystery remains as great as ever. The problem of existence is not solved: it is simply moved further back. The Nebular Hypothesis throws no light on the origin of diffused matter; and diffused

matter as much needs accounting for as concrete matter. The genesis of an atom is not easier to conceive than the genesis of a planet. Nay, indeed, so far from making the Universe a less mystery than before, it makes it a greater mystery. Creation by manufacture is a much lower thing than creation by Evolution. . . . That our harmonious Universe once existed potentially as formless diffused matter, and has slowly grown into its present organised state, is a far more astonishing fact than would have been its formation after the artificial method vulgarly supposed. Those who hold it legitimate to argue from phenomena to noumena, may rightly contend that the Nebular Hypothesis implies a First Cause as much transcending 'the mechanical God of Paley' as this does the fetish of the savage" (*Essays*, vol. i., pp. 302-303). One can agree with this statement, except with the reference to the God of Paley. Suppose that Evolution can tell us the story of the making of the world, we should be as thankful to the evolutionist as we are to any man of science who enables us to see how things grow. What we want from Mr. Spencer and other evolutionists is that they show us the process of the making of the world in such a way as to account for those factors which do not appear to be involved in the formless matter which they show us at the era in time at which they choose to start. We do not object to the formless matter as far as it goes. We are prepared to accept for the sake of investigation the existence of the indefinite incoherent homogeneity, and to accept provisionally the persistence of force, and other postulates of Mr. Spencer, which he names axioms. Let us take the formula of Evolution in its final shape as it stands in the *First Principles*: "Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion; during which the matter passes from an indefinite incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation" (p. 396). All Evolution then is in terms of matter and motion. Let us grant that it holds true of all change that it is in terms of matter and motion. But is that the only change or kind of change that is known

to man? Are we not acquainted with changes and evolving facts which cannot be expressed in terms of matter and motion? Are there not feelings, volitions, thoughts, and is there not an Evolution of these from the simple confused feeling of the Amœba to the highly evolved feelings of a Shakespeare? Does not Mr. Spencer himself deal with Evolution in the forms of Pre-organic, Organic, Super-organic Evolution? We follow him in his description of all of these, always with respect, sometimes with great admiration and assent, and sometimes with dissent, and we have tried to understand. But when we pass into Super-organic Evolution, while we may still retain the formula which speaks of the passage from an indefinite incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity, we have never been able to think of the Evolution of mind as an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion. Feelings, volitions, thoughts are real and have their own nature; they may have material movements as their accompaniment, but they themselves are not material. The formula of Evolution is not complete, as it makes no provision for Evolution in an immaterial sphere.

There is, however, an emphatic recognition of mind in the work of Mr. Spencer. For example, the *First Principles* concludes in this fashion: "The interpretation of all phenomena in terms of Matter, Motion, and Force, is nothing more than the reduction of our complex symbols of thought to the simplest symbols; and when the equation has been brought to its lowest terms the symbols remain symbols still. Hence the reasonings contained in the foregoing pages afford no support to either of the antagonist hypotheses respecting the ultimate nature of things. Their implications are no more materialistic than they are spiritualistic. . . . He who will rightly interpret the doctrine contained in this book will see that though the relation of subject and object renders necessary to us these antithetical conceptions of Spirit and Matter, the one is no less than the other to be regarded as but a sign of the Unknown Reality which underlies both." Again he says: "We can think of matter only in terms of

mind. We can think of mind only in terms of matter" (*Psychology*, vol. i., p. 627). It is exceedingly difficult to understand this statement, as well as the statements generally regarding the relation of subject and object. From them taken as they stand we would infer that they are on an equal footing. They are both modes of the Underlying Unity. We can think matter only in terms of mind, but are matter, motion and force terms of mind? True, they are only symbols, Mr. Spencer says, but symbols are expressive of the nature of the being to which they refer. Mind is expressed by Mr. Spencer in terms of matter, but matter is scarcely ever expressed in terms of mind.

In his system mind is later, secondary, derivative, ruled by matter. It is late in its appearance. Evolution has gone on indefinitely ere life appears, and life has to be evolved ere consciousness appears, and after mind appears it is ruled by matter until the uniformities of material action generate absolute uniformities of thought. We follow Mr. Spencer with great interest as he unfolds his system. He has not written that volume which ought to trace the processes of Evolution up to the stage when life appeared. He begins with biology. It is a great work and its influence has been very great. One reads it with admiration, for it is a great advantage to bring biology into relation with all the other sciences. The evolutionary point of view has led Mr. Spencer to many generalisations and to many suggestions not likely to occur to the specialist. Of quite remarkable interest are his chapters on morphological development, and on physiological development; and his chapters on the laws of multiplication are as rich in interest as they are in insight and in clear and logical statement. Here he is at his best, and the outcome is admirable. Other appreciations we might state were there time.

But he continues to apply his formula and the phenomena in terms of matter, motion and force. Nor is there much to be said in objection so long as the phenomena of life presents no inner side. True, there is some difficulty in representing the reactions of the animal against its environment in terms

of the formula. For there now appears in the world for the first time the phenomena of feeling, of want, of hunger. This appears as far down in the scale as the one-celled beings, and yet Mr. Spencer makes no change in the formula. He insensibly glides into the use of purposive language. True, the transition is gradual, we are occupied with the building up of the organism. That process proceeds according to the formula, from the simple to the complex, from the disconnected to the connected. But there is an unexplained complement that has somehow come in, and along with the increasing complexity of life feeling becomes more and more complex. The Evolution of feeling or of the mental life is never described in its own terms. It is always dependent on the Evolution of the nervous system. The psychological laws of mind are simply consequences of physiology. There is no application of the formula of Evolution to explain the growth of mind. What we ought to have from Mr. Spencer is an attempt to trace the Evolution of mind from an indefinite incoherent homogeneity, in which the possibility of cognition, feeling and volition, as it lay there at the outset, may be seen to evolve into the articulated equipment of mind as it is in the highest kind of mind we know. Instead of that we have an account of the Evolution of the nervous system, with the assumption that the Evolution of the mind is bound to follow.

It is not necessary to quote in support of the foregoing conclusion. In fact, the psychology is based on the supposition that mental development follows the Evolution of the nervous system. But a passage we may quote. "Continued differentiation and integration, thus concentrating the actions out of which psychical life is evolved, first on the surface of the organism, afterwards on certain regions of that surface, afterwards on those most specialised parts of it constituting the organs of the higher senses, and finally in minute parts of these parts, necessarily render the psychical life more and more distinct from the physical life by bringing its changes more and more into serial order. We have nothing to do with the progressive development of the

nervous system, and the actions that are carried on throughout its mass. These internal actions are initiated by the external ones to which the senses are subject. And just in proportion as the external ones tend towards the serial form, the consequent ones do the same" (*Psychology*, vol. i., p. 403).

Mr. Spencer tries to account on these terms for the rise of consciousness. It arises from the need of having some central mode of communication by which all the impressions received from all parts of the body may attain to a certain unity. It is necessary that these be brought into relation with each other, if an adjustment is to take place. "But this implies some centre of communication common to them all, through which they severally pass; and as they cannot pass through it simultaneously, they must pass through it in succession. So that as the external phenomena responded to become greater in number and more complicated in kind, the variety and rapidity of the changes to which this common centre of communication is subject must increase, there must result an unbroken series of these nervous changes, the subjective face of which is what we call a coherent consciousness" (p. 403). The last part of the last sentence was substituted in deference to a criticism of Professor Sidgwick, the part criticised being this: "There must arise a consciousness," on which much might be said were there space.

He is conscious of many difficulties, especially as he remembers how he had spoken in former sections of the *Psychology* on the impossibility of assimilating Mind and Motion. In the end he is forced to speak of Parallelism between a certain physical Evolution and the correlative psychical Evolution. But Parallelism does not do justice to the manner in which throughout his exposition he makes the psychical depend on the physical. Mr. Spencer fails in his psychology to do justice to the complexity of mental life. The psychology of feeling is almost neglected, for, with him, the primitive fact consists in a reflex mechanical act. Nor is the fact of volition adequately represented in his system.

In fact his explanations, such as they are, are directed towards the explanation of the Evolution of the intelligence. But Psychology has a more difficult task in hand, and it is setting itself to this work. It is endeavouring to trace the Evolution of mind directly, not as a mere resultant of the Evolution of a nervous system, but according to principles which belong to mental life itself. Thus it recognises in the life of those beings in which hardly any differentiation of organs and functions exists the beginning of psychic life. It recognises that in a very simple form there are there the fundamental elements of the highest psychical life, feelings, thought and will. It is not a result of biological Evolution, though it accompanies it. Its Evolution is according to mental, not according to physical laws. It is mind that evolves, not matter.

One of the most striking features of Mr. Spencer's system is the stress which he lays on the *a priori* element in our experience. He is as strenuous in insisting on the intuitions of the mind as if he were an adherent of the Scottish Philosophy. He had a long controversy with John Stuart Mill on the test of truth, in which he lays great stress on the Inconceivability of the Opposite. In fact, he lays stress on intuitions throughout his whole system. From one point of view he is an absolute empiricist; a realist in philosophy, a utilitarian in ethics, and an empiricist in psychology and science generally. From another point of view he is an intuitionalist in all three. He is both, for he believes that he has found a method by which he may reconcile Stuart Mill and Kant, the intuitionalist and the empiricist, the idealist and the realist, the anti-utilitarian and the utilitarian. It is a wonderful method of reconciliation, and it illustrates the fertility of Mr. Spencer's genius, and the greatness of his resources. Many have accepted it as satisfactory, and it will always remain as a specimen of the greatness of Mr. Spencer's powers of explanation.

Before we look at it directly, we note about it that it illustrates the dependence of mind on matter, for it shows that even the most characteristic of mental beliefs and mental

categories are, in Mr. Spencer's view, merely results of the action of matter. "If even to external relations that are often experienced during the life of a single organism, answering internal relations are established that become next to automatic—if such a combination of psychical changes as that which guides a savage in hitting a bird with an arrow, becomes, by constant repetition, so organised as to be performed almost without thought of the processes of the adjustment gone through—and if skill of this kind is so far transmissible that particular races of men become characterised by particular aptitudes, which are nothing else than partially organised psychical connections; then if there exist certain external relations which are experienced by all organisms at all instants of their waking lives—relations which are absolutely constant, absolutely universal—there will be established answering internal relations that are absolutely constant, absolutely universal. Such relations we have in Space and Time. The organisation of subjective relations adjusted to these objective relations has been cumulative, not in each race of creatures only, but throughout successive races of creatures, and such subjective relations have, therefore, become more consolidated than all others. Being experienced in every perception and in every action of each creature, these connections among outer existences must for this reason too, be responded to by connections among inner feelings, that are, above all others, indissoluble. As the substrata of all other relations in the Non-Ego, they must be responded to by conceptions that are the substrata of all other relations in the Ego. Being the constant and infinitely repeated elements of thought, they must become the automatic elements of thought—the elements of thought which it is impossible to get rid of, the 'forms of intuition'" (*Psychology*, vol. i., pp. 466-7).

As we read the sections of the *Psychology*, and follow the long account of the growth of the nervous system, and the "parallel" Evolution of consciousness, and when we regard the contrast of subject and object, which to Mr. Spencer is the greatest of all contrasts, we are unable to reconcile the

two. In the one kind of representation consciousness is derivative and dependent, in the other it is contrasted with matter as if it had a standing of its own. Further, when we look back to the *First Principles*, and have regard to the part which intuitions play in that volume, we are surprised that these intuitions should have a mere empirical origin. Intuitions have a larger part to play in Mr. Spencer's system than they have in any other philosophy. "By reality we mean persistence in consciousness," he says, and the Data of consciousness is his sole warrant in the *First Principles*, and yet we find here that consciousness is simply the subjective side of indissoluble elements of experience. Either the intuitions of the mind must have their warrant in the very nature of mind itself, or they are insufficient to bear the stress laid on them by Mr. Spencer. In virtue of these intuitions he ventures to make assertions that he regards as universal, necessary, the opposite of which he regards as inconceivable. But experience as such is always finite, contingent, limited, and from it no universal propositions can be made. We do make universal propositions, what is their warrant? From the nature of mind itself, most philosophies say, and in some moods Mr. Spencer says so too. But then he gives an account of mind which makes its right to speak of the universal and necessary very questionable.

We are aware of the method by which Mr. Spencer attempts to reconcile his absolute trust in intuitions with their empirical origin. It is one of the most characteristic positions in his whole system, and one which illustrates well his amazing fertility of resource. It occurred to him at an early date in his history, and he laid great stress on it to the last. We quote one passage, out of many which might be quoted, as it illustrates his view both of the origin of the intellectual and moral intuitions. "Just in the same way that I believe the intuitions of space, possessed by any living individual, to have arisen from organised and consolidated experiences of all antecedent individuals who bequeathed to him their slowly developed nervous organisations—just as I believe that this intuition, requiring only to be made definite and complete

by personal experiences has practically become a form of thought, apparently quite independent of experience; so do I believe that the experiences of utility organised and consolidated through all past generations of the human race have been producing corresponding nervous modifications, which, by continued transmission and accumulation, have become in us certain faculties of moral intuition" (*Data of Ethics*, sect. 45).

This method of reconciling different views is extensively used by him. "The data of intelligence is *a priori* to the individual, *a posteriori* to the race." Two remarks may be made regarding it. The first is, that even if we grant the possibility of accumulation and transmission from ancestors to successors, it will not avail to turn *a posteriori* truths into *a priori* ones. *A priori* truths are universal, and necessary, their truth is acknowledged as soon as they are understood. Mr. Spencer has shown that they cannot be accounted from the experience of the individual. But what is the race, what is the whole experience of life, but a finite experience after all? It is still particular, finite, limited, and can affirm nothing beyond its own experience. It may speak of what has been, never of what must be. In the second place the possibility of the transmission of acquired qualities has been strenuously denied. Perhaps the most strenuous of the many controversies waged by Mr. Spencer was that with Weissmann on this question. No controversy was so vital to him, none touched so nearly the very heart of his system. So he fought eagerly, passionately, and with all his strength, and notwithstanding all that he put forth, the opinion of his opponent is gaining the adhesion of those who know.

As for us, we think that another genesis of *a priori* truth must be found, if *a priori* truth is to have any validity for the minds of men. We had intended to follow him into the regions of ethical truth, and to speak of the scientific guide for conduct which he has provided for us in his *Ethics*. But space is exhausted. With many of his views we cannot agree. We think he has misread moral experience in many ways, but one is glad to recognise that his main conclusions

are not unlike those which men had reached and had acted on ere Evolution was heard of. Nor is the goal he sets up as the final outcome one that arouses our admiration. But we must stop.

One curious reflection is forced on us as we conclude. It is this. Evolution is in the air, it is applied in all fields of inquiry, its phraseology has become part of popular speech. Our inquiries are all directed towards the knowledge of the becoming of things. The eighteenth century seemed to look at all things as fixed, defined, there and then set forth in unchangeable forms the same in all and for all generations. The nineteenth, especially in the latter half of it, is occupied with the flow of things, with inquiries into the possibility of change, of how things may become their opposites. The fixed boundaries of former ages have been cast down, and we are in the presence of a world in Evolution towards a goal. The strange thing is that while almost all are in agreement as to the fact of Evolution there is really no agreement as to the source of Evolution, as to its factors, or as to its goal. As to Mr. Spencer, his service and his great merit is that of an organiser of human knowledge in some aspects of it. His organising spirit is everywhere, his grasp is on all the sciences, and he has widened the view of man. He came when the sciences existed in isolation, he endeavoured to unify them, and the very thought was an inspiration. He did not succeed in unifying human knowledge, but even to attempt it was a merit. He seeks to bring to light oppositions in order to show that they are aspects of organic unity. He seeks to reconcile science and religion, empiricism and rationalism, Hume and Kant, egoism and altruism, mechanism and Evolution. But his categories are unequal to their task. The contrasts stand out in their naked simplicity, and they refuse to lose their antagonisms at the bidding of Mr. Spencer, and each in turn complain of injustice and misunderstanding of their nature and their claim. Then over all broods the dark shadow of the Unknowable. In the same breath he seems to know everything and nothing about the unified knowledge. We are in the presence of an infinite and eternal

energy, it has manifested itself to us, and yet it is an impenetrable mystery. Human thought can never reach reality, not because human thought has not yet reached its height, but because real knowledge of truth is in its very nature inconceivable, contradictory, unattainable. Yet it is curious that Mr. Spencer has all the while this universal formula at work governing all changes. It is a paradox of the most perplexing kind. The formula is held true about objective nature, about a real world, about something that persists through all time and space, though it does transcend consciousness. The ultimate truth he has told us is not to be reached, but he has decreed that unification of science, an empirical construction of a universally valid and objective law, shall be possible. It is strange.

James Iverach.

Bardenhewer's Altkirchliche Litteratur.

Geschichte der altkirchl. Litteratur. Von Otto Bardenhewer. Bd. I. (1902), *Bd. II.* (1903). *Freiburg im B.: Herder.* Pp. xii. + 592; xvi. + 665. *Price M.*10 and 11.40.

THESE substantial and moderately priced volumes form only a third part of the enormous task which this well-known Munich professor of Catholic theology has set himself. His plan is to cover the whole Patristic period, down to John of Damascus in the East and Isidore of Seville in the West, in six such volumes. The present instalment reaches to the beginning of the fourth century, and shows the scale of the whole. It may be said at once that the work promises to be indispensable to the full equipment of the theological library, not only of the Church historian but also of the student of exegesis and of doctrine. Nowhere else will each find in a unified form so complete and detailed an account of what the ancient Fathers and ecclesiastical writers (as well as those esteemed heretical) thought and wrote on everything connected with Christianity.

Perhaps one could not better characterise the place which, when finished, it is likely to fill, than by calling it a sort of Tillemont's *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclesiastique des six premiers siècles* adjusted to modern requirements. Such it is in effect, whatever it be in form. There is, moreover, a good deal common to both these authors in their candid attitude on matters of detail, where great learning and calm judgment enable each to shine conspicuously. In these respects it challenges comparison, for the ante-Nicene period, with Ehrhard's most useful *Altchristliche Litteratur u. ihre Erforschung von* 1884-1900, *Erste Abteilung* (1900). Each

gathers up the matter of more permanent value scattered throughout an immense modern literature, reviewed year by year in the *Theol. Jahresbericht;* while Bardenhewer of course goes far beyond this in regard to the sources of information which he utilises.

It is impossible to attempt detailed examination of such volumes. What readers of a review most need to know are its general outlines and the fulness and accuracy of its handling of each writer. This is all we can essay to give, along with some typical examples and a few criticisms in passing. Of the matters of principle dealt with in the prefaces and introduction we shall speak before closing. Besides these the Introduction contains a summary of the history of Christian literary history, beginning with Jerome's *De Viris illustribus* and continuing in Gennadius, Isidore of Seville and others, down through the Middle Ages, until the Reformation started a fresh treatment of the subject, which after a largely polemical period has issued in a more scientific conception and handling. Its last three sections are devoted to a descriptive bibliography of the materials and the aids to their study.

The work itself is divided into great Periods, the first of which, "From the Close of the First to the Beginning of the Fourth Century," occupies these two volumes. Under it come three divisions: (i.) The Primitive Literature; (ii.) The Church Literature of the Second Century from *c.* A.D. 120; (iii.) The Church Literature of the Third Century, or The Age of the Formation of a Theological Science. The first of these has no subdivisions, but after a general section (which stretches unduly the non-literary age of the Church's writings so as to include men like the Greek apologists) deals with the "Apostles' Creed or the Baptismal Confession of the Early Church," the *Didache,* "Barnabas," Clement of Rome, Ignatius and Polycarp—reserving the other "Apostolic Fathers" for other sections. The second division embraces (1) apologetic, (2) polemical, (3) *innerkirchliche* literature. Under (1) comes very properly the Epistle to Diognetus, also Hermias (*Διασυρμὸς τῶν ἔξω φιλοσόφων*), who is dated as

probably not later than the third century, since he makes no reference to Neoplatonism. Part (2) falls into two sections, (A) Heretical Literature and New Testament Apocrypha, (B) Anti-heretical. It is a weak point in his arrangement, as our author himself is conscious, that he classes Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles and Apocalypses—many of which, either originally or in their later forms, were not "heretical"—along with Gnostic, Judaistic and Montanist writings. How this is forced on him by his *Procrustean* conception of Christian literature will be seen in the sequel. In any case it is a serious blemish, and puts many things out of their true literary perspective. But as summaries of what is known about these obscure groups of writings these sections are of great utility. Their counterpart—as it is here represented, but is to only a limited extent—is set forth under the headings: Anti-Gnostics whose works have vanished, Irenæus, Anti-Montanists, Writings of Church Rulers touching Montanism and Gnosticism. Here, for all save Irenæus, Eusebius is our prime authority; but his evidence is helped out a good deal by scattered notices in later writers. Lastly, under the heading of *innerkirchliche Litteratur* we get a suggestively small group, its smallness being due to relegation to the categories of Heretical and Apocryphal of much that was really literature of the Christian life, written with a positive and edifying aim. This leaves only Papias, Melito, Hermas, and documents from the days of the Paschal Controversy[1] (which are surely as "polemical" as, *e.g.*, the Epistles of Dionysius of Corinth). Our author (like Funk) unduly belittles the evidence for the Presbyter John in Papias and elsewhere, and cites the common but mistaken "proof" that Papias alludes to Hadrian's reign, though he stops at the hasty inference that Papias must have been writing after Hadrian's death. But he handles Hermas well on the whole, seeing in the *Shepherd* the results of its author's literary

[1] Why should he not add the Muratorian Fragment, which he dates *c.* A.D. 200? (its Roman origin seems to the present reviewer most doubtful).

activity during a considerable period; though surely it is doubtful whether he really has in mind even "the first beginnings of the Montanist movement". When dealing with the Synodal letter which the Palestinian Churches addressed to the Roman (as it seems, Eus. v. 23-25), Bardenhewer has one of his occasional "dogmatic" touches. From the words *τῆς δ' ἐπιστολῆς ἡμῶν πειράθητε κατὰ πᾶσαν παροικίαν ἀντίγραφα διαπέμψασθαι* (due simply to the fact that it was the Roman Church which was collecting world-wide tradition on the Paschal matter), he wrests a proof that it was already recognised that "to the bishop of Rome belonged the duty of being the medium of correspondence between the various national churches"—which he seems also to see hinted in Hermas, *Vis.*, ii., 4, 3. Nor is Victor's quiet "climb-down" in the matter of his unhappy excommunication of the Asian Churches, when he found himself isolated, a subject on which we can expect our author to contribute much to objective history.

The third division embraces the writers in whom a nascent "theological science" shows itself, including the earliest Alexandrine Fathers and Tertullian, but excluding Irenæus (another awkward result of the "polemical" section). The headings now become topographical, namely, Eastern and Western, with the subdivisions, Alexandrines, Syro-Palestinians, men of Asia Minor, on the one hand, and Africans, Romans, other Westerns, on the other. The accounts of the greater names are very full: thus Clement and Origen occupy respectively fifty and ninety large pages, of which a good deal is in small type. Yet the sections devoted to minor personages show equal thoroughness of knowledge, and form perhaps the most distinctive feature of such a book of reference. One has in mind names like Judas the Chronographer (*c.* A.D. 203), Ambrosius and Tryphon and other members of Origen's circle, Ammonius (two probable bearers of that name), Phileas of Thmuis, Hesychius, and the so-called letter of Theonas. There is even a discussion of the letter of the Presbyter Psenosiris to which Deissmann has directed special attention. This only makes the omis-

ion of any real notice of the Abercius inscription less lefensible. In the comparatively obscure group of Syro-Palestinians we get, besides full accounts of Julius Africanus, Paul of Samosata, Lucian of Antioch, Pamphilus, and Adamantius' *De recta in Deum fide*—to name only the chief—liscussions of the Apostolic *Didaskalia* (an important work o which the lately found Latin version has given added nterest) and the Apostolic Church Order. It is, however, loubtful whether part of this last does not belong originally o Egypt. Asia Minor claims four names, *viz.*, Firmilian whose embarrassing agreement with Cyprian in condemnng the judgment of Rome on heretical baptism is referred o without comment), Gregory Thaumaturgus (to whom belong a number of suppositious writings, besides the few genuine ones), Anthimus of Nicomedia (martyred, *c.* A.D. 302, a possible work (epistle?) of whom περὶ τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας, recently brought to light by Mercati, is carefully liscussed), and Methodius of Olympus. A "Retrospect of he Eastern Writers," dealing first with their general characteristics, then with the various classes of topic handled by hem, and finally with the mutual literary relations of East and West, closes this half of the third division.

The second half deals with the West in similar fashion. The sections devoted to Tertullian (62 pages), Cyprian (70 pages), Hippolytus (60 pages), are wonderfully full and useful. The revived study of Novatian is duly represented, including a discussion of the *Tractatus de libris ss. scripturarum*, first assigned (by its discoverer Batiffol) to Origen, then to Novatian, but more recently to the second half of the fourth century at earliest, and most recently of all to the fifth century or even the sixth (Morin, Butler). Sections are also given to the Muratorian Fragment and the closely related ancient prologues to the Gospels, and to "Papal letters"—a convenient collection of notices touching certain genuine fragments belonging to Roman bishops of the third century. The "Other Occidentals" are Commodian, Victorinus of Pettau, and Reticius of Autun, who are handled with learning and judgment. A "Retrospect of Occidental

Writers" again affords a welcome summary of results and principles.

To the student of early *Acta Martyrum*, a field increasingly cultivated by the critical historian, a *Nachtrag* of thirty packed pages will be most useful. The *Anhang* on Christian recensions of Jewish and Pagan writings is less complete. The latter class is represented by brief allusions to the *Sexti Sententiæ* and the Hermesian writings, and a general reference to borrowings from Stoic literature (especially Seneca). Under the former very imperfect recognition is given to the work of English scholars, like Drs. Charles and James.

There remains the question of the title chosen by our author for his work and the reasons for his choice. He himself calls attention to the matter almost *ad nauseam*, especially in his introduction (pp. 18-34), and again in the preface to vol. ii. *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Litteratur* is, he explains, used by him in preference to *Patrologie*, only because he happens already to have published a shorter work under that title. Thus the difference between the two works is simply one of scale, not of conception. Even the larger one limits itself to setting forth "our present knowledge touching the *ecclesiastical* literature of antiquity". Such a limitation he feels bound to justify over against the chief modern writers in this field, who conceive their task to be the literary history of Early Christianity (*altchristliche Litteraturgeschichte*). Against this conception, which finds a place, as of right, for all literature prompted by a consciously Christian impulse, whether its interpretation of Christianity be or be not orthodox and "ecclesiastical" judged by later standards, Bardenhewer conducts a vigorous polemic. His chief opponent and critic is Krüger, whose *Gesch. der altchristlichen Litteratur* is the type of what he himself most deprecates. It may be true that Krüger's exposition presupposes a special view of the development of doctrine, akin to that set forth in Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*, while Bardenhewer's own presupposes the common ecclesiastical or traditional view of the matter, *viz.*, that "from the first

the Church possessed a definite sum of saving truths, as empowering commission (*Vermächtnis*) from her Divine founder, and preserved it, at any rate throughout Christian antiquity, in true and unadulterated form". How much ambiguity and confusion of thought may lie behind the term "antiquity," used to cover not only types of doctrine but also attitudes to doctrine as diverse as those marking the Church in the first and in the fifth century respectively! But waiving this for the moment, the point is: Which view admits of the more "scientific" presentation of all the data in question? Or to put it concretely: Is a scientifically adequate account of heretical or "non-ecclesiastical" Christian literature to be expected, when it is treated, not as representing a positive interpretation of the Christianity, but as a mere factor conditioning the development of "ecclesiastical" literature? Surely no historical phenomenon can come by its rights when treated as the foil or dark background of something else. It is this which has made the "Catholic" handling of Gnosticism in the past so unfruitful, from the earliest heresiologists down to our own day, until Protestants taught a larger and more charitable philosophy of history, through which alone such an account as Bardenhewer himself gives has been rendered possible. One has a right to ask him whether he accepts the old Catholic view of heresy, especially *gnosis*, that it was simply the joint issue of the devil and the sinful elements in human nature. This is the "ecclesiastical" history of heresy, and must in essence be so on its assumed premisses. Well may Krüger exclaim: "So long as a literary history proceeds from 'ecclesiastical' points of view, so long will the heretics do well to remain out of it".

The fact is, Bardenhewer tends to confuse two things, or at least to deny that they can be studied apart, *viz.*, the history of the literary forms utilised or created by the Christian leaven at work in society, and the history of the ideas thus embodied, as related to a stream of dogmatic truth supernaturally safeguarded by certain channels which may be formally defined. The former—a modern, scientific

or purely historical study—examines all literature that names the name of Christ in sincerity, and strives to show how the new Christian motive claimed the various available media of self-expression, and how it modified or was modified by what it used. The latter is in essence the history of doctrines or dogmas, as controlled by the "Catholic" consciousness. The method which Bardenhewer feels imposed on him in his *Patrologie* (as he confesses that it is) by the subjection of the literary aspect to the dogmatic, is one which may be necessary for the pedagogic needs of the seminary—where the faith must be formally guarded in every discussion; but is alien to the spirit and unfriendly to the objective results of strict literary history. Not that the latter means elimination of the inner motives at work in the literary product, but only the waiving of questions as to the adequacy of the motives or ideas as measured by the full-orbed truth of Christian revelation. With this distinction in mind, we need not scruple, as Bardenhewer does, to include the New Testament writings in such a history of Christian literature. For we do not thereby question their unique fulness of inspiration, which does not depend upon the literary forms in which their messages are embodied, but upon those messages themselves—though the very directness of religious interest inspiring these primitive writings tends to guarantee a certain natural proportion between the message and its form, and to exclude artificiality. To relegate these literary aspects of the Biblical literature for ever to a separate discipline called Introduction, is a mere formal make-believe. It only obscures the facts of the case in their real continuity (which is greatest on the literary or specifically human side), and prevents the intrinsic superiority of the New Testament writings from making their own impression on the candid mind, as placed in juxtaposition with the other members of the series to which they historically belong. To shun such comparison is obscurantism, not reverent faith.

On the whole, then, we may regret that our author has chosen, for dogmatic reasons, to write a history of early ecclesiastical literature, rather than of Christian literature

as such. It does scant historical justice to the "heretics," who pioneered the Church's way in literary activity, as in most other respects; for "the Gnostic sects were at first far more active than the Church, especially in the direction of Exegesis" (Swete, *Patristic Study*, p. 34). It also involves much unreality in substance as well as form. Many non-ecclesiastical writings were at least as orthodox in character as some of those by "ecclesiastical" men, like Justin, Melito, Clement, and others, who wrote books which the later Church "willingly let die" for what seemed to it very good reason.[1] Nay, from the Roman Catholic standpoint, the inclusion of the Fathers of the Greek Church is really *ultra vires*, save on the ludicrous assumption that they, unlike their successors, would have accepted Roman papal claims. On the other hand, Bardenhewer having made his choice, we may thankfully take his work for what it is, protesting only against his use of question-begging phrases like "Protestant Rationalism"—to which he traces the growth of a science of Christian literature as an independent historical study (though with more careful limitation in the preface to vol. ii., than marked his use of it in vol. i.). Evolutionary methods in the study of the forms found in the growth of Christian literature, are no more liable to such partisan epithets, than in the field of natural phenomena. If one were to be tempted into following our author in his prefatory polemic, it would be pertinent to point out that the "ecclesiastical" attitude formerly proved fatal to truly historic exegesis of, say, the "Apostolic Fathers," the best "Catholic" handling of which to-day is (once more) "conditioned by heretical literature," *i.e.*, modern Protestant scholarship. But we prefer to close with hearty recognition of this Patrology as a great achievement and a real service to serious patristic study in any and every Church.

[1] This "eloquence of silence" is well brought out in the essay *Grundzüge der Überlieferungsgeschichte der vornicänischen Litteratur in älterer Zeit*, prefixed to Harnack's *Gesch. der altchristl. Litt.*, vol. i., which deserves more notice than it seems to have received, at least in England.

VERNON BARTLET.

Assyriology and the Old Testament.

Die babylonisch-assyrischen Keilinschriften und ihre Bedeutung für das Alte Testament. Ein assyriologischer Beitrag zur Babel-Bibel Frage, von Dr. C. Bezold, o. ö. Professor der Orientalischen Philologie in Heidelberg. Mit 100 *Anmerkungen und* 12 *Abbildungen. Tübingen: Mohr,* 1904. *Price M.*1.50.

In the Babel-Bibel controversy the theologian who has but a slight acquaintance with Assyriology can estimate the value of the theistic theories of Assyriologists whose theological knowledge is elementary. Much confusion of thought would have been avoided if specialists in Assyriology had been content to present their facts, unencumbered by inferences and hypotheses, to specialists in theology. Dr. Bezold is an expert in Oriental Philology who never wanders from the domain in which he has, for many years, been a successful explorer. His catalogue in five volumes of the *Cuneiform Tablets in the Koujunjik Collection of the British Museum* is a greatly valued book of reference, and his *Ninive und Babylon* (2nd edition, 1903) is one of the most popular of Heyck's *Monographien zur Weltgeschichte.* As long ago as 1886 Dr. Bezold published his *Kurzgefasster Ueberblick über die babylonisch-assyrische Literatur;* in the same year he became editor-in-chief of the new journal—*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete;* he is also one of Schrader's most trusted helpers in the editing of the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.* With most of the questions which have recently been treated in some quarters as novelties he has long been familiar; in 1889 his researches enabled historians to fix the date of Hammurabi, for he first deciphered an inscription which stated that Hammurabi erected a temple to the Sun-God 700 years before Burnaburijasch—a Babylonian ruler to whom reference is made on the Tel-el-Amarna tablets (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xi., p. 87 f.).

The substance of Dr. Bezold's work consists of a lecture delivered last July, in Karlsruhe, before a scientific union of evangelical clergy, but the addition of a hundred notes greatly increases its value. These terse notes often reveal the writer's familiarity with the whole range of literature connected with his subject, and furnish the student with trustworthy and discriminating guidance. In his dedication Dr. Bezold has given an excellent description of himself: *opperto experto sacrum;* he has fulness of knowledge, but is never hasty in judgment. At the present juncture the scientific conclusions of a scholar who possesses this too rare combination of qualities have peculiar value. A brief statement of his position in regard to some leading questions will suffice to indicate his point of view.

The decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions is shown to have yielded great and manifold gains to the Old Testament student. On the cylinders and clay-tablets discovered in the plains of Mesopotamia references have been found to kings and countries mentioned in the Old Testament. The information thus brought to light has cleared up obscurities in biblical chronology and has furnished data for the writing of authentic history. For example, Sargon, the conqueror of Samaria (Isa. xx. 1), and "the great and noble Osnappar" (Ezra iv. 10) are no longer shadowy personages. A comparison of the biblical history with the Assyrian and Babylonian narratives has resulted in the confirmation of the general trustworthiness of both sources, though in both there is manifest a tendency to dwell on successful enterprises and to relate disasters with reserve. In this connexion, honourable mention is made of Dr. Nagel's monograph, *Der Zug des Sanherib gegen Jerusalem* (1902); in this writer's judgment "the biblical account is a thoroughly trustworthy historical source. . . . The authors do not disavow their Israelitish point of view; but this does not lead to any partisan manipulation of the facts, as in the case of an Assyrian court chronicler. Jahveh not only gives his people victory, but also permits them to be in need and distress." Agreement is expressed with Zimmern's identification of Jerusalem with

the *Urusalim* of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets; Dr. Bezold also inclines to the view that the *Chabiri*, of whom the inscriptions speak as a nomad race migrating to Canaan, are the Hebrews.

In the famous address of Prof. Delitzsch, Canaan is described as "completely a domain of Babylonian culture," when the Israelites settled there. In Dr. Bezold's judgment the facts do not warrant such a statement; the histories of Babylon and of Canaan are alike in revealing nothing more than an occasional political contact between the two nations. The histories cannot be compared to two concentric circles, but at the most to two circles whose circumferences intersect. The cuneiform inscriptions do not afford the least justification for the imaginative filling up of the gaps in Israel's early history from the astral mythology of the Babylonians. Assyriologists have always recognised the existence of a common legendary element; as *e.g.*, Nöldeke called attention in 1876 to a Persian parallel to the story of the rescue of the infant Moses. But in all such cases the basis of a sound judgment is a comprehensive acquaintance with the myths of various nations, and it is always essential that the agreement in the narratives should extend to details. Winckler has done well to lay his hypothesis before those who are competent to estimate their value, but his premature publishing in a popular form of theories which are unconfirmed is a "mistake harmful to science".

The identification of Hammurabi with Amraphel is strongly opposed on philological grounds; also on account of its requiring "King of Shinar" (Gen. xiv. 1) to be interpreted "King of Babylon," contrary to invariable Scriptural usage. In the notes this subject is investigated in detail. Winckler's elaborate reconstruction of the history of Abraham in his *Abraham als Babylonier, Joseph als Aegypter* is said to fall to the ground and to derive no support from the cuneiform inscriptions. Theologians are warned of the danger of confusing "the absolutely certain results of Assyriology" with premature inferences and hastily formed hypotheses. The latest results of the study of the library of Sardanapulus has

made us acquainted with many of the gods of the Babylonian Pantheon, but the word *ilu* (God) never occurs as a proper name; Delitzsch is not justified in assuming the existence of a form *Jahve-ilu* with the significance "Jahveh is God". As regards Delitzsch's statement that "the gods are one in Marduk, the god of light," Prof. Oppert of Paris, the "Nestor of living Assyriologists," is said to have completely refuted this argument for the monotheism of the Babylonians. Dr. Bezold adds that parallel texts from the tablets might be cited to prove that sometimes the gods are said to be one in Bel, in Ea, in Ramman, etc., in the same sense in which they are said to be one in Marduk.

Of the direct dependence on Babylonian sources of some biblical narratives, as *e.g.*, that of the Flood, Dr. Bezold has no doubt; on the other hand he is of opinion that there is no sufficient ground for saying that the laws of Moses were derived from the laws of Hammurabi, or that the origin of the Sabbath can be traced to Babylon. In regard to all these questions Dr. Bezold repeatedly says that he speaks as an Assyriologist, not as a theologian. Gunkel's *Israel und Babylonien* he describes as favourably distinguished from many works, which discuss these important questions from a theological point of view, by its "familiarity with the cuneiform inscriptions".

Dr. Bezold thinks that "the modest, unprejudiced Assyriologist" has legitimate cause for pride as he contemplates the fruit which this "branch of the tree of Semitic Philology" has borne in the course of a few decades. But "thousands of texts have yet to be deciphered"; at present therefore "the construction of systems is a waste of time". What is needful is the acquisition by Assyriologists of that thorough philological knowledge, which cannot be gained to-day "except by a study of Arabic"; the inscriptions must then be translated utterly regardless of what they may say. "So far, the progress made in their decipherment has shown that knowledge of their contents is a help to the understanding of the Old Testament, that instead of causing obscurity it gives light, and instead of pulling down, it builds up."

J. G. Tasker.

Die Ethik Jesu.

Von Eduard Grimm. Hamburg: Verlag von Grefe und Tiedemann, 1903. Pp. 293. *Price* 4*s.*

Wissenschaftliche Ethik und moralische Gesetzgebung.

Grundgedanken einer Kritik der gegenwärtigen Ethik. Von Otto Ritschl. Tübingen und Leipzig: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1903. Pp. 43. *Price* 1*s. net.*

In this most attractive volume Eduard Grimm has given us not a severely scientific text-book, but a series of more or less popular lectures on Christian Ethics. In the central chapters —some of the titles, for instance, are "Die Kennzeichen des Sittlichen," "Der Wert der Persönlichkeit," "Egoismus und Altruismus," "Moral und Religion"—the deepest problems of ethics are wisely and adequately handled; yet the touch is not only sure but light, and the German is almost French in its simplicity and clearness, every other page being lit up by a happy phrase or a striking illustration. The strong point of the book is the endeavour—most apparent in the chapter entitled "Das Zeitgeschichtliche an der Person Jesu," but carried out all through—to distinguish in Christ and His teaching between the merely temporal and the eternal, between the passing form and the abiding substance. Thus, speaking of the originality of Jesus, Grimm says that it lies not in the mere words, which may have been used before, but in the sense or content which His creative personality put into them, just as the greatness of a poet consists not in finding new material, but in taking old tales and filling them with new life. "Is Goethe's *Faust* any the less original because so many before him had tried their hand upon the same story?" So a little later he suggests that Christ's life and words are like old pictures; the setting and the dress

and the imagery are of a certain time and place, but the meaning or content is eternal and makes its appeal to age after age unfailingly. His whole treatment of the Gospels as sources is most sane and liberal, and the difficulties of the question, instead of being shirked, are brought out into the open and courageously faced. Very timely, by the way, is the remark that the conditions under which the history of the past is knowable at all, are not to be made more strict in the case of Jesus. In a book that makes so delightful reading it may seem ungracious to pick out faults, but perhaps it ought to be pointed out that in his anxiety not to put too much into Christ's sayings Grimm sometimes puts too little—for example, into those regarding His death, in which, after the manner of Wendt, he refuses to find the slightest hint of atonement. Does he not forget here that the Epistles were written before the Gospels, and that the atoning significance there given to Christ's death must have had, to say the least, some point of contact with His mind and teaching?

Otto Ritschl has in hand a large work in which he is to give us a critique of present-day Ethics, and, by way of preparing us for that, sets forth in this little book the principles on which he is to proceed. His great demand—is it not the demand of every German writer nowadays?—is for that which shall be scientific, "wissenschaftlich". Just as theology ceases to be scientific whenever, as apologetic, it tries to be practical and bring succour to religious faith (which, of course, says the son of Ritschl, it never does), so whenever ethic poses as normative and proposes to deduce or establish moral rules, it sinks from the level of pure science. All that is normative or practical, all that has to do with moral precepts, belongs to the province of Morals: but Ethics has to do not at all with the contents but solely with the forms of the moral life. Hence even Kant went beyond the true scientific limit when he brought in the categorical imperative and suggested a practical formula. Science, as general, has

nothing to do with moral laws which are concrete and have always arisen in definite historical circumstances, but is concerned with the formal idea of moral law and with that alone. In explanation of the second part of the title it may be added that after marking off merely purposive action from the truly moral will, the essence of which he says is obedience to commands it feels bound in conscience to obey, and after arguing, in a way that recalls Bain, that true moral obedience is developed through obedience to rules imposed on us by parents, teachers and society, Ritschl asks us to draw a sharp distinction between these: "*Sittlich* nämlich ist die Gesetzgebung, deren Grund das eigene Gewissen, und derer Erscheinung die aus diesem hervorgehenden Pflichtgebote sind. *Moralisch* dagegen ist die Gesetzgebung, die anderen Menschen in der Absicht, sie zu erziehen und ihren Willen zu bilden, zum geringeren Theile auch aus sittlichen, zum grösseren Theile jedoch aus sittlich indifferenten Gründen, Gebote auferlegt und deren Befolgung durch Strenge oder Milde, durch physischen oder moralischen Zwang erreicht und durchsetzt."

The thought is not obscure, but the style is heavy and involved, and much that is said is not really new but only for a moment appears to be so, because it is unfamiliarly expressed or with uncommon clumsiness. But it is scarcely fair, even were it possible, to criticise what after all is only a preface: in which there are many good things—especially the closing pages on the nature and value of ideals—which whet the appetite for the larger work.

John Lendrum.

Reden und Aufsätze.

Von Adolf Harnack. Giessen: *Ricker*, 1903. *2 vols.*, 8*vo*, x.+ 349 *and* viii. + 379. *Price* 10*s.*; *bound* 12*s.*

In these volumes Professor Harnack has collected lectures and essays, delivered or published by him on various occasions during the last twenty years. They are selected with the special object of reaching a wider class of readers than theological students. The publication of his last popular work, *What is Christianity?* has made him widely known in this country, and those who can read German will find a perusal of this work well worth their while.

In each volume the first half contains lectures while the latter portion consists of essays. Naturally the lectures take a wider sweep than the essays, and are interesting as showing us that a close and minute study of Christian origins by no means cramps the professor's general outlook, but rather supplies him with that fuller sense of the drift of things which an exact knowledge of the historical evolution of religious ideas is calculated to impart to the mind. But Harnack's primary interest is in early Church history. As he truly remarks, when the study of early Christianity has once laid its spell upon a man, it never lets him go. It is therefore to the essays, which deal with the engrossing problems of early Church history, that we will first turn. The most recent is one published last year on the history of the origin of the New Testament (vol. ii., p. 237). The conclusion arrived at is the same as that which Harnack had reached as long ago as 1889, when he published a critique of the first volume of Th. Zahn's *History of the Canon of the New Testament*, entitled "The New Testament about the year 200". In it he contended that originally only Gospels and Apocalypses ranked with the Old Testament, and our present "Acts

of the Apostles" displaced a number of earlier "Acts," just as the fourfold Gospel a number of earlier Gospels. By the middle of the third century our New Testament had grown up as a canonical whole, with the exception of 2 and 3 John, 2 Peter, James, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and probably also the Apocalypse and Jude. This settlement of the canon was probably the work of the Roman Church, with the co-operation of the Church of Asia Minor. A natural process whereby a number of earlier Gospels were being gradually amalgamated into one harmonised Gospel was arrested in the second century *c.* A.D. 120-130, by Gnosticism. The Church fixed the text of the fourfold Gospel arrived at in Asia Minor as authentic. The professor does not say how the Church fixed it, but implies that the process of change suddenly stopped, because men were dismayed at the extravagant additions to the original text made by the Gnostics. He is almost certainly right, but there is evidence that this anti-gnostic process also involved interpolations and omissions in the evangelic texts made with the pious object of refuting certain of the more extreme Gnostic sects, such as the Cainites. The inclusion of the Epistles of St. Paul in the Canon was due, as Harnack ingeniously argues, to a similar anti-gnostic process. Marcion and the Gnostics gave St. Paul such a high place as the interpreter of Christ that the "great Church" could not appear to esteem him less highly. His Epistles did not, however, come to be regarded as Scripture till after A.D. 160. By A.D. 181 they are represented in the Acts of the Scillitan martyrs as sacred writings, and kept as such together with the Old Testament and the Gospels in the archives of the Church.

Harnack leaves the thorny question of the Acts on one side in this essay. If we follow his earlier book already referred to, we should have to suppose that a number of earlier "Acts" were gradually amalgamated into a canonical collection of Acts, just as a number of earlier Gospels were into a canonical fourfold Gospel. And research, as luminously sketched in the last essay of this volume, has already brought to light fragments of old Acts of John, and Peter, and a large

portion of the old Acts of Paul is on the eve of being published by Karl Schmidt.

In the essay on the Apostles' Creed (vol. i., p. 219) which called forth such a storm of protest, and brought the whole question of the Virgin birth into prominence, the most doubtful statement appears to me to be one on p. 249. Harnack is speaking of the old Roman form of the Creed, and of the additions which distinguish the present form of the Creed from it, and observes :—

"It makes no difference in the practical content and sense of the ancient symbol that in our Creed 'suffered' has been added to 'crucified,' 'dead' inserted before 'buried,' and 'eternal life' added to 'Resurrection of the flesh,' or that 'God the Father Almighty' is expressly designated as 'Creator of heaven and earth,' or finally that for 'born of Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin' it is now said 'conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary'."

The last instance, he holds, can at most only be regarded as a case in which the earlier Creed observes a wiser reserve than the later. Loofs (*Das Apostolikum*, 1895, p. 5), writing three years later than Harnack, says: "The words 'Creator of heaven and earth' are an addition which was probably originally made because in the second century there were groups of half-Pagan, half-Christian people, who distinguished the highest God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, from the God who created the world, whom they held to be an inferior Being".

The term Almighty implies one, as he further explains, by whose will everything came into being and still comes into being, but there is no reference in this epithet to creation as the immediate work of God. It would be open to those who wished it, to say that God had delegated the work of creation to another, and this is exactly what is practically said by Ptolemæus, the disciple of Valentinus, in his letter to the Roman lady Flora. Harnack, on p. 283, remarks that views expressed in Valentinian circles may very well have been those of a party within the Church. If so, the old Roman Creed may have so framed the first article as not to exclude

a certain section of the Valentinians, and it seems to me that the same is true of the other omissions of the old Roman Creed. It would be strange indeed in view of the insistence of the Fourth Gospel on the reality of Christ's death, if the anti-Docetic party had not been anxious to insert an explicit reference in the Creed to the sufferings and death of Christ. Probably it was pointed out to them that the words "crucified" and "buried" really implied the sufferings and death, and that they would be wise to conciliate those earnest Christians who could not bring themselves to think that Christ had really suffered. We know that the author of the monarchian prologues makes use of the Acts of John, as if the Docetic views expressed in these Acts were still current in Church circles. We know also that the Gospel of Peter speaks of Christ as having been "taken up" at the beginning of the Passion. Perhaps this meant that his spirit, like St. Paul's, was "caught up" into Paradise, and so felt no suffering. There is certainly evidence that the words said in our Gospel to have been spoken from the Cross were, some of them, in earlier forms of the Gospel, represented as spoken on the way to the Cross. It would be natural then to conciliate a large body of Christians by the omission of the words in question. And it may be that the clause "born of Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin" was also a compromise between the parties in the Church. There were those who were ready to say that Christ's mother was the Holy Spirit (so the Gospel according to the Hebrews), inasmuch as He was the pre-existent Son of God, but who yet denied the Virgin birth. These were ready also to admit that He was "born of the Virgin" mentioned by the prophet Isaiah, and so was the promised "Son of David". They held the Adoptian view of the descent of Christ upon the man Jesus at His Baptism. This is explained by the view current in Valentinian circles that the soul and its angel were united in a spiritual *συζυγία* in Baptism. Clearly in the case of Jesus, His angel was conceived of as the angel of the Lord, *i.e.*, God. Thus the Adoptians did not deserve the reproach so freely poured out against them by later controversial writers that they took a purely

human view of Christ. It is true Justin Martyr was a contemporary; he speaks of them as Christians, but declares their view to mean that Christ was a "man born of men". Probably he did not understand Jewish angelology sufficiently to realise the Adoptian standpoint. Probably all the early Christians believed in the Divinity of Christ, only the Jews in those days denied it, simply because they did not believe Jesus to be the Messiah. For these reasons the old Roman Creed seems to me to have been a compromise.

While we are on this ground, we may perhaps turn to the first lecture in the second volume, in which Harnack deals with another burning question. It is entitled, "Christianity and History," but its main thesis is, "Is it true that historical criticism has either destroyed the historical basis of the Image of Christ current in Christianity, or rendered it insecure?" Harnack replies that the present continued influence of the Personality of Christ confirms the historic reality of His Person. In a fine passage he declares "only of one man do we know that He united the deepest humility and purity of will with the claim to be more than all prophets who were before Him—the Son of God. Only of Him do we know that those who ate and drank with Him valued Him not only as their Teacher, Prophet, and King, but as the Prince of Life, the Saviour and Judge of the World, the living power of their being—'It is not I that live, but Christ liveth in Me'—and that presently, in addition to them, a whole chorus of Jews and Heathen, of wise men and fools, confessed that out of the fulness of this One man they had received grace for grace." He insists on the pre-eminent fact of the influence of Christ on the personality of every Christian; "from Him the Life has streamed forth, which they now carry within them as their life"—and this as the first and last members of a series of personalities, reaching back from the individual Christian to the individual historical Christ.

At the same time, with his usual candour, he remarks that it is true that in some important respects modern research has invalidated the evidence for what had hitherto been reckoned amongst the prime facts of the history of Christ. "Shattered

is the tradition of the beginnings of the life history of Jesus Christ; shattered is the credibility of many a story related of Him, and criticism cannot set aside the old grievous doubts awakened by the narratives of the events of Easter morning."

It is one of the weak points in Harnack's position that he does not fall back upon the story of the Resurrection in 1 Cor. xv. as the great charter of Christianity: he treats the continued existence of Christ after death rather as a matter of faith, than as resting on the Revelation of the Risen Lord. And here surely he makes a grievous mistake. No one can doubt the historical fact that the early Christians saw the Risen Christ. Then why rob multitudes of a prop to their faith as to which there can be none of "those grievous doubts awakened by the narratives of the events of Easter morning"? I trust I do not misjudge Harnack in this matter, but that is the impression which his writings have left on my mind. It is with pleasure that one can quote another remark in this lecture. "Much which had hastily been given up, has been reaffirmed by a more searching inquiry and a wider experience. Who would to-day, *e.g.*, deal so hastily as earlier scholars with the wonderful miracles of healing in the evangelic narrative?" The following is also illustrative of his point of view—"In defending anything as historical fact, one may be taken to defend rather the spiritual thought therewith connected. In, and by, the statement 'conceived by the Holy Ghost' the divine sonship of Jesus Christ is the fact stated; in, and with, the message which told of His ascension, is stated the fact that He lives and reigns with the Father." In short, to use the quaint phrase of the first essay of the first volume, these are "true legends".

In the lecture on "Monasticism, its Ideals, and its History," both the strength and the weakness of mediæval monasticism is well brought out, and its very different history in East and West is contrasted. In the East it was a useless institution, but proved a great civilising force in the West. But when it is stated that monasticism is not as old as the Church, and Christ is said neither to have lived as an ascetic Himself, nor to have seen any holiness in asceticism as such, one does not

feel quite sure that this is exactly true. Did not Christ pronounce those who left all property and all the ties of home life, to take up their Cross and follow Him, blessed? Did He not say that some had made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of Heaven's sake? or are we to suppose that this is not of the essence of the Gospel? Did He not call on all men to "take up their Cross," which appears to have been equivalent to "live an ascetic life"? If all were called to take up their Cross, and those who would be perfect to give up all property, it is difficult not to see here something of the spirit of the triple monastic vow of poverty, chastity and humility. And was there not a historical connexion between the Essenes and Christian monasticism? Harnack admits that such a movement as the Encratite movement in Egypt in the second century was anticipatory of monasticism. The popularity of the Encratite Acts amongst the monks sufficiently demonstrates a connexion. And were not the Encratites an outgrowth from Essenism? It was Essene Judaisers who were rebuked by St. Paul for an overstrained asceticism—("Touch not, taste not, handle not")—and the Essene condemnation of all sacrifice is a strong point in the teaching of the Peter of the Encratite Acts. It may be that no Essene brotherhoods can be traced in Egypt. But was there not an order of Essenes which is described by Jewish writers as one of the Jewish sects, and which appears to have stood to the Essene brotherhoods as the third order of St. Francis did to the Friars? These "lay brethren" would spread the tenets of the Ebionites, or "poor men," far and wide. One suspects that "Ebionite" and "Essene" were practically identical, and that the Encratite movement was really Gnostic, springing from the doctrine of the inherent evil of matter, which caused this branch of the Essenes to discourage all marriage. Even if this be as yet too theoretical a point of view to be insisted upon, one cannot help thinking that Harnack, on the other hand, too completely ignores the possibility of such a view. It cannot be taken as axiomatic that monasticism is simply a later accretion. Of course the bands of enthusiastic men and women who believed the world

was almost immediately coming to an end, and that therefore those who had wives should be as though they had none, and that those who were unmarried should remain as they were, were not "monastic communities," but their ideal was that state of life, shortly, as they believed, to be realised, when there should be no more marrying nor giving in marriage; and as these Christian enthusiasts gradually settled down into communities, it was natural that those of them who were Essenes should approximate their mode of life to the well-known Essene brotherhoods, and that the Church, in general, should regard the celibate life as its ideal.

An interesting confirmation of such an original connexion between monasticism and these Christian Essenes, who were from a Pauline point of view inclined to heresy, is the fact to which Harnack incidentally draws attention on p. 113, that the monks *c.* A.D. 400 had no reputation for orthodoxy, but were rather regarded as tinged with Manichæism. It is known that Martin of Tours much resented the condemnation of Priscillian, the then representative of extreme Encratite views. A brief indication of the remaining essays and lectures must suffice. There are several which deal with Luther and the Reformation, a sympathetic study of St. Augustine's confessions, others again, full of stimulating thoughts on social and educational questions, and missionary problems, and two very interesting lectures on the Roman Church, one of these, in particular, on "The Testament of Leo XIII.," is well worth reading. One of the essays is reprinted in English from the *Contemporary Review* on "The Present State of Research in Early Church History," and together with the essay in vol. i. on "The Most Recent Discoveries in the Province of the Earliest Church History," presents a valuable conspectus of the progress in theological discovery during the last generation. The book, as a whole, is more interesting to German than to English readers, but those English readers who wish to find Harnack's point of view on the burning questions of theology clearly and forcibly stated, will be glad to read the essays and lectures above referred to.

J. H. Wilkinson.

Geschichte der Logosidee in der christlichen Litteratur.

Von Anathon Aall, Ph.D. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland. 8*vo*, pp. xvii. + 493.

This is the second volume of a treatise on the history of the Logos. In the first volume the author discussed the idea of the Logos as presented in Greek philosophy. In this volume he traces its Christian rendering as exhibited in some of the earlier New Testament books and the Fourth Gospel, in non-canonical letters and gospels, in the works of such notable apologists as Justin Martyr, Tatian and Theophilus, and finally in its Alexandrian finished form as developed by Clement, Origen and Plotinus.

The volume is more remarkable for assiduous investigation and patient exegesis than for original or bright writing. The sixth chapter on the Alexandrian treatment of the Logos doctrine is the strongest in the book, and probably reflects the author's inclinations most freely. There is a lack of power about the exegetical portions which disappears when the author begins to deal with the early Christian apologists, and is entirely outgrown when he comes to the Alexandrian theology. But while this unevenness affects the value of the book, the clearness of the style and the full discussion of the history of the doctrine command attention.

In his biblical review the author examines the Epistles to the Colossians and to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse, for the first traces of the Logos doctrine in the New Testament. Then he discusses fully the more complete contribution of the Fourth Gospel. In Colossians he finds a strongly Philonic tendency, especially in the first chapter. The phrase "image of God" is a Philonic term used to express the relation of the Logos to God. And the follow-

ing expressions occurring in the Epistle—*ἀρχή, κεφαλή, πρωτότοκος, πλήρωμα*—are keynotes in the Philonic exposition of the Logos. The function of Christ as giver of Light reveals Philonic influence. The Logos as the interpreter of the Invisible God is a Light-bringer.

Passing on to the Epistle to the Hebrews, the author finds in the Melchisedec analogy, in the teaching (iv. 12) about the Word of God, and in such phrases as "the express image of the Father's person," echoes of Philonic terminology current in Alexandria.

In the Apocalypse, which our author places considerably anterior to the Fourth Gospel, there are similar expressions as to the Word of God which seem Philonic.

But it is in the Fourth Gospel that the Logos doctrine is truly elucidated. The author attributes the Gospel to the Presbyter John, who drew his information from the son of Zebedee. He dates the Gospel about A.D. 110, and divides it into two main parts, thus: Prologue, i. 1-18; first part, i. 19 to xii. 36, containing the central teaching, and closing with an epilogue, xii. 37-50. Then comes the second part which deals with catastrophes of the end of Christ's ministry —xiii. to xx. In this Gospel we have an historian preaching, using historical materials for the purposes of theological doctrine or religious edification. In the prologue references to the Logos there are Philonic echoes and original touches. Representations of the Logos as life, truth, light, grace, are in keeping with Philo, but John's references to Christ's pre-existence with God are his own, according to our author. In the ethical region John agrees with Philo in teaching that the highest character is obtained by participation in the nature of the Logos. The Spirit's function is to apply the words and things of Christ, the Logos who spake as never man spake. The energy of the Logos in the sphere of Nature is taught both by John and Philo. So is the origin of the Logos from God as the medium of God's working in the creational sphere. But while Philo's Logos is pure Reason, John's Logos has a mediatorial function. In Philo the Logos is Reason educating men up to their

highest. In John the Logos is the Incarnate Son of God who comes to take away sin. Herein lies a great contrast.

So far the author has considered the Biblical data. He now proceeds to examine the extra-canonical writings. He finds in early Christian thinking the introduction of semi-supernatural forces—assistant Logoi, such as Spirit, Powers, Angels, Demons. He traces these to their respective sources, Spirit to the Old Testament, Powers to Babylonian astrological conceptions, Angels to Jewish writings, and Demons to Greek thought. The whole supernatural apparatus that intervenes between man and God is an Alexandrian addition to New Testament teaching. In Alexandria the tendencies of European and Asiatic thinking met: and they coloured the Christian idea of the Logos. The Stoic and the neo-Pythagorean schools were modified in Alexandria by Asiatic influences, and Christian doctrine had in its turn to be modified to meet these popular currents of thought. Heathen deities were regarded as demon forces working against the Logos, and requiring extermination by the power of light. The author passes in review the Epistles of Clement, Barnabas, the Ignatian Epistles, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Gospel of the Hebrews, and similar writings. The Logos of God is regarded as breaking the ethical silence of past ages, and bringing forth the certainty of revelation to teach men the higher life and convince them of sin. Our author thinks that the Christian doctrine of the Logos may be traced to Stoic influence as modified by Alexandrian teaching and developed by Philo. But though interesting as a speculation, and therefore bulking largely in early Christian discussions, it is not of the first importance theologically. It is more or less indefinitely taught in the New Testament, and yet it became the theological shibboleth of early Christianity.

The author then considers the manner in which Christian apologists such as Justin Martyr, Tatian and Theophilus of Antioch handled the doctrine of the Logos. Justin derived his Logos doctrine from his doctrine of God, in which he combined Platonic Theism with Stoic Pantheism. His Logos, a product of Philonised Stoicism is made to coincide

with the person of Jesus, as subordinate to God, and yet divine. Justin works chiefly in the ethical sphere, and finds the function of the Logos to consist in bringing men to God and to their highest development. The Incarnation took place for the redemption of man.

Tatian was the greatest Christian dialectician. He treats the Logos as an unfathomable philosophical symbol. The Logos, as the first-born work of the Father, creates the world and man and finally communicates to man the wisdom of God. Tatian recognises the Incarnation, but treats it rather on the religio-philosophical side than on the soteriological. The Logos has to lead man by knowledge and reason to the Father. The Christian is born again by the Logos.

Theophilus discriminating the Logos from Jesus, treats it as a philosophical abstraction representing the Reason of God working on the hearts of men. Its beneficent operation, however, is in its highest form reserved for Christians. Thus the Logos is not a mediator between God and man.

In the final chapters the author deals with the history of the Doctrine of the Logos during the heresy combats that divided the early Church, and exhibits the potent influence on the shaping of the doctrine exerted by the great Christian Alexandrian theologians, Clement, Origen and Plotinus, the last mentioned being reckoned among the Alexandrians although his activity was chiefly Roman.

This work is of unequal value, but is animated by a scholarly purpose, and succeeds in gathering together without undue condensation the history of the doctrine of the Logos. The historical treatment is more thorough than the exegetical.

Alex. Tomory.

1. La Sociologie Positiviste—Auguste Comte.

Par Maurice Defourny, Docteur en Philosophie. Paris: Felix Alcan; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. *Large* 8*vo*, pp. 370.

2. Das Vaterunser.

Von Otto Dibelius. Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung; London: Williams & Norgate. 8*vo*, pp. 180. *Price* 5*s. net.*

3. Studien zu Eusebs Theophanie.

Von Lic. Dr. Hugo Gressmann, Privatdocent in Kiel. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung; London: Williams & Norgate. 8*vo*, pp. 154 *and* 69. *Price* 8*s.*

4. Die nestorianische Taufliturgie.

Von Lic. Dr. G. Diettrich. Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung; London: Williams & Norgate. 8*vo*, pp. 103. *Price* 4*s.*

5. Die Theologie der neuentdeckten Predigten Novatians.

Von Hermann Jordan. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. Large 8*vo*, pp. ix. + 224. *Price* 4*s.* 6*d.*

6. La Notion Johannique de l'Esprit.

Par Maurice Goguel. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. Large 8*vo*, pp. 171.

7. Die Moderne Weltanschauung und das apostolische Glaubensbekenntniss.

Von August Trümpelmann. Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate. 8*vo*, pp. 395. *Price* 7*s. net.*

8. Le Miracle.

Par Dr. Pierre. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. 12*mo*, pp. 111.

1. This work contains (*a*) a short life of Comte; (*b*) a synopsis of what may be called his sociological writings; (*c*) a critical estimate of Comte's system. The author is a sympathiser with that system, and considers the present

time opportune for the issue of a work on Comte, owing to the new-born interest in sociology considered as a science. But the growth of scientific sociology will only put out of date more than ever Comte's treatises, which, while eminently interesting, do not meet the complex problems of western civilisation, as these have been modified by democracy and industrial expansion in our day. Still as a distinct contribution to social philosophy, Comte's *Cours de Philosophie positive*, *Appendice générale de la Politique positive* and *Système de Politique Positive*, will always have historical value for the student. But Benjamin Kidd and Giddings and other recent writers have shown a far more sympathetic grasp of modern social phenomena than the formal method of Comte permitted. Comte's value is that he emancipated social philosophy from theological and metaphysical bias and laid the foundations for a positive or scientific study of the phenomena of society.

This treatise is a modest and clear statement of Comte's positions and a loyal attempt to preserve the master's fame from decay.

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2. This book contains three distinct essays. The first examines the theory of prayer held by three Christian Fathers, *viz.*, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Gregory of Nyssa. The author concludes that Clement held the Platonic view that communion with God is the highest function of man and regarded prayer as a means of communion. But he also made room for extraordinary answers to prayer. Still he was essentially a Platonist, and as such had more faith in prayer as a means of communion than as petition for practical needs. Origen first threw his influence into the spiritualising of prayer. Later he came to see that the urgent needs of man and the desire for their satisfaction constituted an objective and practical motive more effective than that of communion with God. Gregory held that all prayer was petition for good things, temporal as well as spiritual. In the second essay the author considers the teaching of the above-named Fathers on the Lord's Prayer. And in the third essay, which covers 100 pages, he traces various renderings

of the Lord's Prayer from the fourth century down to the fifteenth, with special reference to the exposition of the same in Lutheran documents.

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3. This book may be divided into two parts, (*a*) a critical summary of the teaching of Eusebius in his *Theophany* on the nature of God and the Logos, and the function of the Logos in the salvation of man; and (*b*) a textual discussion of the Syriac translation and comparison with the Greek text. An appendix of seventy pages is added containing a list of terms employed in the Syriac version with Greek equivalents.

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4. This is a translation of the Syriac version of the baptismal liturgy of the Nestorian Church, the work of the Patriarch Isoyahb III. It is the oldest ritual for infant baptism, antedating by a thousand years any extant Western liturgy for infant baptism.

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5. This is a very interesting and scholarly work on the so-called discourses of Novatian recently discovered. These twenty discourses were attributed to Origen, but as the result of the researches of various theologians they are now attributed to Novatian. He was an irregularly baptised priest in the third century who led the movement in favour of severity against those Christians who had lapsed under persecution, and who was made Bishop of Rome. The author in seeking to establish the Novatian authorship concludes that these discourses were written in Latin, that they belong to the era of the persecutions, and that the writer uses the arguments of Novatian. He criticises adversely the suggestion that they were compiled by a follower of Novatian from various writers and preachers as a synopsis of Novatian doctrine. After giving a summary of each of the twenty tractates the author discusses emendations of the text and compares these discourses with acknowledged writings of Novatian. Nearly half the book is devoted to a thorough exposition of their teaching on God the Father, on the Son in His subordination to God, in His work on earth and His

exaltation, and, finally, on the Holy Spirit. In the fifth chapter the author shows that the teaching of these discourses is not discordant with the ideas underlying the Novatian schism. This is a satisfying and fair-minded study in historical theology and may be heartily recommended.

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6. This work is an exposition (*a*) of the non-Johannine teaching on the Holy Spirit, including Jewish teaching on the Spirit of God, Philonic conceptions, popular pre-Johannine conceptions of the Holy Spirit as shown in the Acts, the Apocalypse, the Pauline and Petrine Epistles and the Hebrews; and (*b*) of the Johannine teaching which our author finds in the Fourth Gospel. He discourses easily and popularly on the distinction between the two worlds of flesh and spirit and the function of the Spirit of Christ in saving men. The inspiration of Jesus by the Holy Spirit is an illustration of what the Spirit's power over men may become. The nature of the Spirit and the method of His operations are passed under review. There is nothing novel in the author's views. He is writing obviously for the general public rather than for theological students.

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7. This is a popular and prolix work on the applicability of the various propositions of the so-called Apostles' Creed to the problems of modern thought. It is a homiletic work containing wholesome practical teaching, and on the whole maintaining the positions of the Creed, while allowing considerable latitude in interpretation. It is an interesting book for popular reading but it cannot be described as weighty or persuasive.

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8. This book contains two discourses by Dr. Pierre on Miracles delivered at the People's University of Rouen. In the first the author deals with the doctrine of the miraculous, in the second with the facts. He believes in miracles, their possibility and their value. But he insists on scientific evidence for the occurrence of each alleged miracle.

ALEX. TOMORY.

The Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin. By F. R. Tennant, M.A., B.Sc., formerly Student of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Cambridge: University Press, 1903. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 363. Price 9s. net.

This volume is a sequel to the author's Hulsean Lectures on *The Origin and Propagation of Sin*. These lectures treated the question of the Fall and its consequences critically and inductively. This volume gives the results of a historical study of the sources and development of the doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin. Its argument is supplementary to that conducted in the earlier publication, and the author's hope is that it may be seen to sustain the view already stated of the validity of the doctrines under consideration. We cannot say that this hope is made good in all points. But there can be no hesitation in recognising the useful service which Mr. Tennant has done by bringing together so much matter taken from many different quarters, ancient and modern, bearing upon the origin and development of these doctrines.

The Old Testament narrative of the Fall is first examined in the light of criticism, ethnology and psychology. Here the value of the Jahvist document, and the principles of exegesis applicable to the narrative in Genesis iii., come into view. The parallels in Phœnician, Egyptian, Babylonian, Greek, Iranian and Indian thought are also adduced. The conclusion reached is that the story is neither history, nor allegory, nor in the strict sense, myth, but that "its explanation ought to be nothing but its history," and that its "history is the history of its authors, not of its subjects"—that it is the record, in short, of certain stages of theological speculation. The preparation found in the Old Testament for a doctrine of the Fall and of Original Sin is

next unfolded, as it is seen in the use made of certain elements of the Fall-story, the ideas of the universality and inherence of sin, etc. Here it is denied that there is anything to show that "any connexion between human sinfulness and Adam's transgression had as yet occurred at all to the Hebrew mind". The teaching of the Apocryphal, Rabbinical and Pseudepigraphic literature is next exhibited, and the writer then proceeds to deal with St. Paul's doctrine. He concludes his history and argument by a careful induction of passages showing how the matters in question were regarded and expounded by the Christian Fathers before Augustine.

The reader will see that the book is one of large compass, and that not only has much toil been spent upon it, but that the toil has been with understanding. On a good many points we cannot accept the author's interpretations as adequate. We cannot follow him in saying it is doubtful whether in the Old Testament itself physical death is related to Adam's transgression. This rests on an imperfect apprehension of the penal character which death bears in the Old Testament, and there are facts enough, we believe, to make it a very strained view of things which only allows that the belief that "universal physical death was the outcome of the Fall is general from the time of Ben Sira". The great Pauline passages, again, are examined at considerable length, and much care is taken in stating the pros and cons for the competing explanations of Rom. v. 12-21. But we cannot accept this part of Mr. Tennant's argument as very satisfactory. An inadequate idea of the bearing of the paragraph indeed is indicated by the introductory remark that "it is not of much importance to ascertain here whether S. Paul, in Rom. v. 12 ff., uses *θάνατος* exclusively in the sense of physical death, as is maintained by most writers, or whether, after the example of the Book of Wisdom, and as in other places in his own Epistles, the word is endowed also with an ethical meaning". But, however it may be with these and other doubtful positions, Mr. Tennant's book will be of much use to theologians of all schools.

Neutestamentliche Apocryphen, in Verbindung mit Professor Dr. P. Drews, etc., in deutscher Uebersetzung und mit Einleitungen, herausgegeben von Lic. Dr. Edgar Hennecke, Pastor in Betheln (Hannover). Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904. 8vo, pp. xii. + 558. Price 6s. net.; bound, 7s. 6d. net.

Dr. Hennecke has done good service by the publication of this German translation of the New Testament Apocryphal books. He has secured the co-operation of a large body of scholars, each widely recognised as specially competent in his own line, including Drs. Drews, Ficker, Flemming, Geffcken, Knopf, Krüger, Meyer, Preuschen, Raabe, Rolffs, and others. The work has been well done, and the book is issued at a surprisingly low price. The editor's General Introduction discusses the questions relating to the distinctions between *canonical* and *apocryphal*, gives a summary historical statement of the origins of the primitive Christian literature and the Apocryphal writings, and a sketch of the history of inquiry on the subject, the various editions of the books, etc. Then follow the writings themselves in the order of Gospels, Epistles, didactic books and sermons, ecclesiastical books (*Didache* and *Didaskalia*), Apocalypses, and legendary Acts of Apostles. There are also good indices which greatly facilitate the use of the book. The undertaking was no easy one. It has been carried through with much success. The book should have a large circulation.

The Apocryphal and Legendary Life of Christ. By James De Quincy Donehoo, M.A., Rector of Grace Church, Monroe, La. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903. 8vo, pp. lix. + 531. Price 10s. 6d. net.

This also is a very useful publication. Its object is to "make accessible to the reader of English, in a form easily grasped, the whole body of that comparatively ancient extra-canonical literature which pretends to tell at first hand something of the life and words of Jesus Christ". In this

the author has succeeded, and it has cost him no small labour to do so. His book bears throughout the evidences of careful study and extensive investigation of authorities. And he has no illusions about the nature or value of his subject. He does not conceal from himself the fact that the literature in question "discloses to the investigator," as he puts it, "but few golden grains amidst an intolerable deal of chaff," and he knows well that it is impossible to resolve this literature into its constituent elements. Yet he thinks we may claim for it that, "weighed down, as it is, with the dreary verbosity of Gnostic madness, and the preposterous if lighter inventions of mediæval legend-mongers, it certainly bears across nearly nineteen centuries a few words from the divine Author of Christianity, and a few particulars as to His history upon which the four Gospels are silent". It is doubtful whether even this claim can be made good.

Mr. Donehoo begins with a pretty full statement of authorities, the main sources of the text, the lists of lost and fragmentary Gospels, the principal Church writers and anonymous documents. This is accompanied by useful notes and approximate dates. In taking up his main subject he follows the plan of letting the various writings speak for themselves, adding such explanations as can be given in a series of foot-notes. He arranges his matter historically in connexion with the successive stages in our Lord's life. Thus he gives his first chapter the title of "Christ's Grandparents according to the Flesh," and under this he brings together all that is said by the Protevangelium of James, the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, and the Sahidic Fragments of the Life of the Virgin, with regard to Joachim and Anna, their childlessness, their visit to the Temple, their visions, etc. The next three chapters are given to the legends about Mary, her birth and childhood, her betrothal, the annunciation, etc. Then follow the stories connected with the nativity, the visit of the wise men, etc., and so on till in the last three chapters we come to Pilate's inquiries, and the letters to

Cæsar, the embassy of Volusianus and Cæsar's Cure, and the correspondence of Pilate and Herod.

The author expresses his surprise that no such book has ever been produced before in English, and that indeed it has been attempted only once in any language. He thinks the work is worth doing and that it will have its use. He is right in this, and we owe him much for putting us in possession of such a collection of curious lore. He does not think there is much reliable tradition to be found in it. But he claims for the literature which he reviews some interest at least as a "monument of what many men of many centuries have thought, and dreamed, and romanced about that life of all-absorbing interest and unparalleled influence". This historical value at least it has, and it has also some Apologetic worth.

Passio S. Theclae Virginis: die Lateinischen Uebersetzungen der Acta Pauli et Theclae, nebst Fragmenten, Auszügen und Beilagen, herausgegeben von OSCAR VON GEBHARDT. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1902. 8vo, pp. cxvi. + 188. Price M.9.50.

Dr. von Gebhardt's characteristic thoroughness is seen on every page of this work. It almost staggers one indeed by the minuteness and exhaustiveness of its investigations and discussions and the labour spent upon its details. The Greek text of these curious *Acts* is of no great length, but it is of sufficient importance, in Dr. Von Gebhardt's view, to make it worth while to endeavour by all means to get at its original form, and its proper intention, meaning and value. For these purposes the various translations, especially the Latin, are of importance, and the author has done his work so carefully and fully with regard to these that it is not likely to require to be done over again. It is a work which he was stimulated to undertake by a dissertation of Carl Schlau's which appeared in 1877, and he has had it in hand for nigh a quarter of a century.

The history of the Latin translations is given at length,

the manuscripts, the traditional account, the state of the texts, etc., being dealt with very fully. Nothing, in short, which has any bearing on the questions in hand seems to be overlooked. On a rigorously critical basis Dr. Von Gebhardt labours to restore the original form of the text, and to provide us with facilities for understanding a writing which has come to have much interest and importance in more than one line of inquiry. The number of versions in which it appeared in ancient and in mediæval times is a witness to the place which it had in popular acceptance. Dr. Von Gebhardt reminds us among other things of the freedom with which matter taken from it was introduced into the Bible-text. He refers to the fact that two cursives (46 and 109) introduce among the greetings in 2 Tim. iv. 19 these words, *Λέκτραν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ Σιμαιαν* (or *Σημαιαν*) *καὶ Ζήνωνα τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ*—words which Westcott and Hort regarded as taken "probably from an apocryphal source". These words came from these "Acts of Paul and Thecla," and were probably inserted first as a marginal addition.

Das Schriftprinzip der lutherischen Kirche. Von Dr. Friedrich Kropatschek, Lic. u. Prof. der Theol. in Greifswald. I. Band. Die Vorgeschichte. Das Erbe des Mittelalters. Leipzig: Deichert, 1904. 8vo, pp. vii. + 462. Price M.9.

This is the first part of what promises to be a large and instructive treatise. It is to deal both with the historical and with the dogmatic aspects of its subject, and that subject is an important one. The questions which Professor Kropatschek undertakes to handle are of great interest, specially of course to Lutheran theologians, but by no means to them alone. They concern the genesis and the foundations of Protestant theology as a whole. They lie at the basis of any just appreciation of the great Reformation movement of the sixteenth century, and they branch out into many lines of inquiry which are of value in addition to the main topic. An inquiry such as is here begun, therefore,

deserves to be cordially received. Much has been written on the central question by Rothe, Dorner, von Hofmann, Frank, Philippi, Harnack and other scholars of high repute. But the field is by no means exhausted.

Professor Kropatschek's work promises to be a valuable contribution to the question in hand. It is all the more welcome that it keeps steadily in view the new direction which has been given in these later times to the statement of what Scripture is, the effects of the critical movement and the various theories of the nature of Scripture, its authority, its relation to revelation, and its chief functions which have been constructed during the last century. The present volume is full of good matter, mainly historical. It gives a sketch of the preparations for the Lutheran doctrine of Scripture which are to be found at the close of the mediæval period. This it does in two distinct divisions, one occupied with the practical use of Scripture during the Middle Ages, and the other with the deliverances of theologians on the subject. In the first of these divisions, instructive statements are given on the position of the Waldenses and the Hussites, the critical attitude of the Cathari, the mystical use of the Bible, the operation of the Apocalyptical influence in Joachim of Floris, the Bohemians and others. Here there is much that will repay perusal, more particularly as regards the Waldensian use of Scripture and its relation to the authority of the Church, the question of the canon, etc. There is also an interesting and impartial inquiry into the extent to which, and the sense in which, there is historical justification for speaking of a prohibition on the part of the Church of the reading of the Bible.

In the second division we have excellent statements, well supported by evidence, of the views of Marsilius of Padua, William of Ockham, Gabriel Biel, and others. These are followed by chapters dealing specially with Wiclif, his forerunners, friends and opponents, the theologians of the Reforming Councils, and the particular views of Wesel, Wessel, and Goch. Here we may refer specially to what is said of Huss as a theologian, of John Gerson, and of Peter of

Ailli. The closing chapters gather up the results of the historical inquiry so far as they bear on the antecedents of the Protestant doctrines of Scripture, tradition, inspiration, and the like. There is also a brief statement on the exegesis of the Middle Ages, the application of the theory of a double or a manifold sense, and the dependence of the interpreter on the doctrine of the Church. The book, therefore, is one of large compass. It contains a mass of matter that will be of use to students in different departments of theology. We trust the author may be encouraged to proceed with his work, and that we may have it soon in its completeness.

Die Cyprianische Briefsammlung. Geschichte ihrer Entstehung und Ueberlieferung. Von HANS FREIHERR VON SODEN. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1904. 8vo, pp. viii. + 268. Price 10s. 6d. net.

This forms the third part of the tenth volume of the Neue Folge of Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*. It is an elaborate production. Few will think of reading it through. To a very select band of insatiable experts, however, it will be of interest. It owes its origin to the instigation and encouragement of Professor Adolf Harnack, and the author has been helped in many ways in his exhaustive study by the same scholar, as well as by Drs. von Gebhardt, Haussleiter, Omont, Ceriani and others, among whom are some English scholars. One main object of the work, the author tells us, is to show that a new edition of Cyprian's writings including the pseudepigraphic, is both a necessity and a possibility. In this at least he has amply succeeded.

The author begins his work with a strong statement of Cyprian's importance and of the extraordinary place assigned to his writings in ancient times. But there is a note of exaggeration in this. Herr von Soden boldly claims that the writings of Cyprian were regarded and used as of equal authority with Scripture. He refers with most decision to

the catalogue known as the Canon Mommsenianus or the Cheltenham List, in which the works of Cyprian are introduced immediately after the books of the Old and New Testaments. He appeals also to Lucifer of Calaris, Prudentius and Augustin. But in each case his inference goes beyond what the facts allow. In the case of the Cheltenham List there is nothing whatever to sustain so singular a claim beyond the bare fact that the notice of the Scriptures is followed by that of Cyprian's works. If we were sure that the List as we have it is complete and was followed by nothing else, it would point certainly to the high esteem in which these writings were held, but it would be rash to say that they were placed in the same rank with the Old and New Testaments. So, too, all that can be said of Lucifer is that in his Tractates he limits himself almost wholly to Scripture and Cyprian. Nor will the words of Prudentius, poetical as they are, warrant us to conclude that he recognised anything like a supplementary revelation in Cyprian's works. And as to Augustin, it is true that in the *De Civitate Dei* (viii., 27) he places Peter, Paul and Cyprian together. But there are many other things to take account of in Augustin. Barring this element of exaggeration and lack of discrimination, however, the author's strong assertion of the influence of Cyprian and the position won by his writings primarily in the interests of edification, but to some extent also in a doctrinal point of view, can be readily accepted.

Limiting his study to the Letters (for which he gives his reasons), he gives a list of these with their addresses and brief indications of their contents. He then proceeds to describe their general character, the circumstances that led to gathering them into a collection, and the main facts relating to their circulation, singly and in groups, soon after Cyprian's death. Then follows, in the second division of the book, an elaborate discussion of the manuscripts and the textual history of the Letters. The historical witnesses referring to the collection of Letters are enumerated and examined, and a full statement is given of the various editions in which they have appeared. A number of appendices are added, which

deal with various aspects of the literary tradition and give a record of the literature of the subject, lists of libraries possessing manuscripts, lists of lost codices, and other matters.

An immense amount of work has been spent on the book. Whether it will all repay itself is another question. One gets almost lost in the minutiæ of the investigation. The volume has its own value, however, and it has traced out the history of these notable letters more completely than has been done before.

S. D. F. Salmond.

A Discussion of the General Epistle of St. James.

By R. St. John Parry, B.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: C. J. Clay. Price 5s. net.

Die Stellung und Bedeutung des Jakobusbriefes in der Entwickelung des Urchristenthums.

Von Dr. Grafe, Prof. an d. Universität, Bonn. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. Price M.1.20.

Mr. Parry's reference to the opposite views respecting St. James's Epistle, often founded upon the same set of facts, receives pointed illustration from a comparison of his own treatise with that of Dr. Grafe. They agree in very few of their conclusions. Mr. Parry's investigation is the more searching and thorough; Dr. Grafe's, as befits a popular lecture, is built on slighter lines. The former brief treatise, only 100 pages, is a remarkable example of condensed expression. In that respect, as also in the absence of formal connexion in the arrangement, it resembles the Epistle which is the subject of discussion. Dr. Grafe's lecture is more consecutive and flowing in style.

One point on which the two writers differ, is the systematic nature of the Epistle, Mr. Parry maintaining that it is one of the most orderly and logical of the New Testament writings, Dr. Grafe holding the opposite and more general view. The former argues acutely in favour of his position. The theme is the possibility and duty of overcoming temptation; faith and wisdom are the means for doing this. The abruptness with which the writer plunges into the subject is certainly an indication that this is a leading topic. As the discussion proceeds, secondary points inevitably emerge, but the clue is recovered and maintained. Mr. Parry also argues for the view that the

temptations treated of in chap. i. are throughout allurements to evil. This position seems to us more difficult to maintain.

Mr. Parry has several new and striking suggestions. One is, the taking of "glory" in chap. ii. 1, as in apposition with Lord, "the Lord our glory". If the word were "hope" or "life," it would be so understood at once. That the Lord Jesus is the glory of man, the realisation of the divine ideal of human character, is certain. It will be seen that the thought is attractive.

Mr. Parry's discussion of the famous passage in chap. ii. and its relation to St. Paul is altogether admirable (p. 49). He shows that the place of faith is just as fundamental in James as in Paul. "The positive teaching as to faith is identical in St. James and St. Paul. With both, it is the fundamental element of Christian character; with both, it necessarily involves activity, works of faith. The polemical object in the two writers is different: in St. Paul it is a rival religious principle; in St. James it is a false view and application of the principle of faith. In dealing with the case of Abraham, St. Paul lays the whole stress on the Scriptural declaration without inquiring into the nature of the belief which was the occasion for the imputation of righteousness. With St. James, the nature of that belief is the kernel of his argument, and to elucidate it he does not merely quote Scripture but interprets it. If these conclusions are justifiable, it is obvious that neither writer can be directing his polemic against the other. Such an intention would imply a misunderstanding which cannot reasonably be imputed."

Dr. Grafe's treatment of this point is far from satisfactory. He thinks it "almost discreditable" that any one should doubt that James is controverting Paul. His own solution that James did not really understand Paul's doctrine, while guarding against its abuse, is weak.

The two writers differ widely as to the date of the Epistle. Dr. Grafe argues elaborately for a comparatively late date in the second century, one of his chief grounds being the

pronounced worldliness of the Christians addressed. This, he thinks, is in keeping with the condition of the Church supposed in post-apostolic writers, when the Gospel was replaced by a new form of law. But it is altogether doubtful whether the faults rebuked in the Epistle are more serious that those rebuked in Paul's undisputed Epistles. The fresh reminiscences of the Sermon on the Mount are in favour of an early date. The prominence given to prayer harmonises with what tradition relates of James. The moral elevation of the Epistle is far above the level of the writers of the second century who are assigned as the compeers of James. Mr. Parry puts the Epistles towards the end of the apostolic age, along with the Ephesians. This view is supported by a careful analysis.

Mr. Parry makes an exhaustive comparison of the Epistle with Paul's to the Romans. The result is to bring out remarkable identity in substantive teaching and fundamental ideas without any clear evidence of literary connexion. The uncertainty of inferences drawn from internal characteristics is illustrated by the fact that while both writers call attention to the undoubted connexion between James and 1 Peter, Mr. Parry places the dependence on Peter's side, Dr. Grafe on the side of James. The explanation of the common features of James and the Shepherd of Hermas is matter of dispute. Dr. Grafe inclines to think with Zahn that the latter is the borrower.

Clement, in his letter to the Corinthians, puts James on a level with St. Paul's Epistles; Harnack and others depress it to the level of Clement, Hermas and Justin. To do this is to disregard its higher spirit and tone. Mr. Parry says: "There is nothing in Clement approaching James in depth of treatment or in general character. . . . There can hardly be a more convincing proof of the strictly apostolic character of the Epistle and its author, than to read it side by side with Clement's Epistle or any other sub-apostolic writing. It has the unmistakable note of originality and authority. If this writer and this writing are to be classed with the essentially secondary productions of sub-apostolic Christianity, then

indeed the attempt at literary criticism must be resigned in despair."

A common objection is the "moralistic" and "legalistic" tone of the Epistle. The morality inculcated is at least that of the other Epistles and the Gospels, and its background is evangelical doctrine. The difference is, that this background is suggested instead of being exhibited in detail. The reticence in regard to the Lord Jesus is admitted, and it is hard to explain. But if this is strange, it would be tenfold more strange in a writer of the sub-apostolic age, witness Clement, Ignatius, and even Hermas.

A strong point in Dr. Grafe's work is his refutation of Spitta's position that the Epistle was originally a Jewish production, which was then modified in the interest of Christianity.

J. S. Banks.

Old Testament History.

By Henry Preserved Smith, D.D., Professor of Biblical History and Interpretation in Amherst College. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903. *Post 8vo,* pp. xxv. + 512. *Price* 12*s.*

THE series of the "International Theological Library" receives in Dr. H. P. Smith's volume a noteworthy addition. We may say at once that Dr. Smith has succeeded in his purpose "to put into narrative form the results of recent Old Testament study," and he proceeds with characteristic boldness and thoroughness to apply these results in reconstructing the history of Israel and in tracing the growth of the literature of the Old Testament. In a full and frankly written Preface, the author explains his standpoint and vindicates the necessity "that every new advance in criticism involves a rewriting of history". The task of historical or the higher criticism is to estimate the worth of traditions preserved in documents or inscribed in monuments, and to avoid misapprehension as far as possible in interrogating or dating its material. To the objection that the reconstruction of the history should be delayed till the critical work is completed, Dr. Smith answers that while "history is based on criticism, criticism is tested by history," and thus the critic's analysis is checked by the historian's synthesis. There is undoubted truth in this practical view of the complex problem that has to be dealt with in the study of the Old Testament: the application of the twofold method of the critic and the historian will expose the errors of "subjectivity," and any glaring incongruity that results in the picture drawn by the historian will call for more careful and complete examination in the critical process. Equally sound is Dr. Smith's view of the qualifications of the historian. These are, as he states them, soundness of judgment, ability to distinguish between different hypotheses or degrees of probability, and the duty to tell what he knows. It is in

this last qualification that the author himself excels. For in dealing with the earlier portions of the history and with periods where the *data* are wanting or uncertain, we may often disagree with his conclusions, but we can hardly ever fail to see the distinctness of the outline he presents to us, and we admire throughout his disregard of qualifying and superfluous phrases and his ability to tell us what he knows. Towards the end of his interesting and suggestive Preface, Dr. Smith makes cordial acknowledgment of the value of the critical works of Wellhausen and Stade. These authorities are influential in forming opinions arrived at in the course of the twenty chapters that make up the present volume; but in most cases Dr. Smith exercises an independent judgment, and we are glad to notice (p. 60, note) that he is not able to follow Professor Cheyne in discovering references everywhere to the clan of Jerachmeel. The imaginations of this scholar call up the words that Dr. Smith thinks of, in connexion with the strange visions and actions of the prophet Ezekiel (p. 302)—"Great wit's to madness near allied"!

We shall give some specimens of the critical views held by Dr. Smith in dealing with leading periods of the history and literature of the Old Testament.

1. In his opening chapters on "The Sources" and "The Origins," our author emphasises the results of historical criticism, *viz.*, that most of the Books of the Old Testament are compilations and not homogeneous productions, and that Hebrew historians wrote for edification or to point the moral of events and, therefore, handled their material with unusual freedom. Hence the variety of the material, much of it legendary or mythological, found in the narratives of Genesis, and hence the different versions of events as recorded in books like Kings and Chronicles. In Genesis we see mythological stories and religious teaching side by side: one author leaves anthropomorphic features which a subsequent writer strips off. "A redactor, to whom we cannot be too grateful, thought it a pity to lose either story, and combined the two in a single narrative" (p. 34). So, in the narrative of Chronicles, the facts of the earlier historian are coloured

or set aside: we have to account for omissions that concern the declension of the nation and its rulers, and for insertions that introduce developments ("an elaborate ritual") only possible in a later time. The chronicler wrote in the spirit of religious patriotism, and with the purpose of casting a glamour over the past. "It would be better (he thought) to draw the veil of charity over the faults and misfortunes of Israel's great King. It would be more edifying to have the history without these shadows. And so the good man rewrote it without the shadows. He had no idea of casting doubt upon the older story, only he wanted a more edifying presentation."

2. Dr. Smith's thorough-going adherence to the critical standpoint comes out clearly in his treatment of the Patriarchs (chap. iii.). His analysis brings out variations and inconsistencies in the three main strands of the narrative, and by reference at this point, as again in dealing with the period of the conquest (chap. v.), to the El-Amarna tablets, he confronts us with the difficulty or the impossibility of getting at real history. As usual the priestly writer supplies us with a genealogical and religious framework, but the charm and power of the portraiture of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are due to the writers of the other documents. It is said that the evidence of the tablets referred to "leaves no place for the peaceable immigrant like Abraham". The patriarchs, as pictured in Genesis, move about freely and build altars, but the real state of things shows the country thickly peopled, nomad tribes pressing in from the desert, and the inhabitants of the fortified towns at chronic warfare. Likewise, the narrative of Abraham's battle with the kings (Gen. xiv.) is discredited as being out of harmony with the general picture. In dealing with the names of the patriarchs, as understood by the original authors, Dr. Smith holds to the view of the prophets Amos and Hosea, who "had little idea of the patriarchs as individual men". Names are commonly applied to tribes, and on the whole it is plain that the patriarchs are not to be taken as individuals, and that therefore Jacob, Isaac, and even Abraham, have no substantial

reality. "We have to do here with figures of the poetic or legend-building imagination" (p. 42), with heroes of *sagas* that tell admiringly of their character and adventures. In this somewhat light and airy fashion Dr. Smith waves his critical wand over Genesis, and all reliable historical knowledge of the patriarchal period disappears. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob become important as individual figures only "from the post-exilic or at least post-Deuteronomic period," and are no longer to be considered as ancestors of their people. Dr. Smith may well suggest that "these results seem meagre". He is too easily satisfied with the powers of the "legend-building imagination". By way of compensation, he adds that the creation of Abraham "reveals the religious faith of the author who drew his picture". This simply transports the great figures of one period to a later. It is *persons*, Harnack reminds us (*Das Wesen des Christentums*, p. 89), that form the saving element of history, and they are needed also to give movement and reality to the patriarchal age. Later colouring apart, and making allowance for the habit of merging the individual in the tribe or clan, it must be claimed for these narratives of the patriarchs that at least "they contain a substratum of actual personal history" (G. A. Smith).

3. The rise of the monarchy in Israel (chap. vii.), and the differing accounts of Saul and his successors, afford Dr. Smith another opportunity of pursuing his analysis and of piecing together the history. Here, again, motives are at work and divergencies have to be dropped out or reconciled. The ground of course was prepared for the kingship by slow and stubborn conquest of the land. Evidence for this extended invasion is pointed to in the El-Amarna tablets (p. 79 and note). The book of Joshua is a later effort of the literary imagination, which compresses the struggle revealed in the book of Judges into a short and sharp conflict. As regards the introduction of Saul and the origin of the kingdom, there are two narratives. "The narrative of the origin of the kingdom which has come down to us in the books of Samuel shows a strange confusion in the treatment of this subject"

p. 107). The desire for a king is stigmatised there "as contrary to the will of Yahweh". This view is the effect of later reflection. The older and simpler view is that the king was the gift of God; and in the course of the actual history Saul became king by an act of prowess, and his election by lot, conferring on Samuel a false importance, is only "an imaginative construction of legend" (p. 119). The positive picture left of Saul, therefore, is limited, and it is doubted (p. 127) if either account of his death is accurate. In the same way the critical historian rejects much of the material that has gathered round the character and career of David, who prepared the way for "the more showy reign" of Solomon. It is the fault of the Hebrew narrator that he lacks interest in "political or constitutional history," and consequently we learn little of David's method of unifying his kingdom. The removal of the ark to Jerusalem is a later idea (p. 143), and should not be put alongside David's choice of a capital: he had "no idea of making a single central sanctuary for the whole country". Dr. Smith sees nothing in the picture of later times that made David "a saint after their own ideal, a nursing father of the Old Testament Church, an organiser of the Levitical system, and the author of the Psalter". He is content to admit that David's piety was real, but that his attainments in morality and ritual conformed to a simple and primitive type.

4. Passing by Dr. Smith's view of the subsequent history to the fall of the monarchy, and his rapid and vivid sketches of kings and prophets, we glance in closing at his treatment of the Exile and after. The opening of this period leads to a careful consideration of the ideas and influence of the prophet Ezekiel, who is judged to have been "in some respects the most remarkable of Israel's prophets" (p. 301). In the altered circumstances of the nation, the doctrine of the importance and responsibility of the individual came to the front, and it is as the exponent of this truth and of other new ideas fermenting in the minds of the exiles that Ezekiel now figures. His religious ideals and attention to ritual left their impression on the band of exiles to whom he ministered,

and suggested the fresh study and modification of their religious records. "The literature that arose was literature with a purpose." It was now, Dr. Smith supposes, that the book of Deuteronomy engaged fresh attention, and that the book of Joshua was in great part rewritten, and in the line of Ezekiel's regulations such collections of laws as the "Holiness Code" were formulated and incorporated. It is also noted that in various forms "the Messianic hope began to be a part of Israel's mental and spiritual support from the exile on" (p. 340). Dr. Smith's pen loses none of its bold and trenchant force in the chapters (xvi., xvii.) on "The Rebuilding of the Temple" and "Nehemiah and After". He sees difficulties "of the most serious character" in accepting the usual view of the book of Ezra and of the edict of Cyrus permitting the return of the Jews in Babylonia. The hope of restoration lay rather with the remnant of the community left in Judah. "If we had the testimony of Haggai and Zechariah alone, therefore we should not dream of a wholesale return such as the chronicler alleges" (p. 351).

The important fact that meets us in this period of trial and depression is the noble effort put forth by the little band of the faithful—"an Israel within Israel"—to keep alive their hopes and to ensure the future of their religion. The book of Job is dated here, as giving expression to the problems that were deeply felt, "one of the great works of the human spirit". If Ezra is effaced in the reconstructed history, Nehemiah has full justice done to him as an energetic and practical reformer, and here again another piece of Hebrew literature, the book of Ruth, appears in answer to the course of events and as a protest against Nehemiah's prohibition of intermarriage—"a powerful pamphlet on the side of the foreign wives". The three closing chapters of this volume deal with "The Greek Period," "The Heroic Maccabean Movement," and the reign of "The Priest Kings". Dr. Smith connects with this last period "the final redaction and publication of the book of Psalms" (p. 471). These chapters, like those that precede, are vigorous and rapid in their presentation of events, and end by pointing out how, as Judaism in Palestine

was ending, "the Judaism of the Dispersion was preparing to receive and propagate the new and expansive religion of Jesus Christ".

We have said enough to show the critical standpoint of Dr. Smith and some of the principal results he arrives at in constructing afresh the history of the Old Testament. His volume gives in sufficient compass, and in clear and serviceable form, the presentation of the subject that rests on the adoption of the new and sometimes startling conclusions or presuppositions of advanced criticism. We have no fault to find with the principles with which he sets out, but many of his inferences and of the applications of his method are open to question. We have sometimes felt as if the author were too intent on "getting along" with the processes of the critical workshop, and in danger of obscuring to himself and his readers the spiritual grandeur of Israel's religion and history. Here and there we come across colloquialisms and Americanisms that may be overlooked, but the remark (p. 255), following Isaiah's denunciation of the women of Jerusalem, that "the passage in our Bibles has been expanded by some ladies' tailor," is not worthy of a place even in a footnote. Happily this style of comment is rare; otherwise we might be tempted to use Dr. Smith's language of Antiochus IV. against himself—"a certain levity in his treatment of a grave problem distinguished him from his predecessors". We add that Dr. Smith's able and learned volume is creditably free from misprints, only on page 84 (note), "Steuernagle" has plainly been worked over by a later hand. Dr. Smith may fairly claim, in having before him a great body of literature, that he has "overlooked no work of real importance," with the exception, perhaps, of the writings of Dr. A. B. Davidson, an interpreter of the history of the Old Testament who cannot yet be dispensed with. The volume is completed by an index of subjects and of Scripture passages, and is well entitled to a place in an international and present-day series.

W. M. Rankin.

Liberal Christianity: its Origin, Nature, and Mission.

By Jean Réville, Professor in the Protestant Theological Faculty of the University of Paris. Translated and edited by Victor Leuliette, B-ès-L. Paris: Williams & Norgate, 1903. Cr. 8vo. Price 4s.

Liberal Christianity is an elastic phrase, and a book bearing that title may cover anything, from the teaching of a declaratory act anent the Confession of Faith to eighteenth-century Deism. It need hardly be said that in this volume it comes nearer the latter than the former. M. Réville is a Protestant theological professor in Paris who delivered these lectures to the *Union Suisse du Christianisme Liberal* in Geneva about a year ago. As delivered there the subject of the lectures was "Liberal Protestantism," and that is a much more descriptive title. As might be expected, they mark, on the side of scholarship and a real interest in the ethics of Christianity, the Protestant reaction against Church teaching, as that is understood in France. It is only fair to the writer to bear this in mind. The book is a plea for the unfettered application to religion of the Reformation principle of the right of private judgment. An infallible Church gave way in post-Reformation times to an infallible Bible. Liberty of religious thought was enclosed in confessional forms and catechisms. An infallible Bible has gone in our day, shattered by the refutation of its claim to be inerrant. With the authority of the Bible has disappeared that of the creeds. Where therefore do we stand now? According to Professor Réville, on "the principle of the *freedom of inquiry* and of the *religious supremacy of the individual conscience*" (the italics are the author's). In this he claims the sanction of the French Calvinists and of Luther, to whom Holy Scripture was

authoritative by reason of "the witness and inner working of the Holy Spirit". Which is undoubtedly true. But if this is pushed to the point of view taken in these lectures, it leads to a position that can hardly be distinguished from Rationalism—that word being understood historically and strictly, and not in the vague sense in which it is freely used and hurled about as a handy weapon to-day. Professor Réville's attitude to Scripture is that of maintaining "its historical authority," which he contends "is as legitimate to-day as it was at the beginning of the sixteenth century". In this connexion his book is interesting because of the view he takes of the effect of criticism on Scripture. It has exploded the belief in an inerrant Bible, but it has not injured it as "the record of the noblest and holiest religious experiences which the human race has handed on to us—those, namely, of the prophets of Israel, and more especially of the greatest of them all, Jesus the Christ. This it is which constitutes the Bible for us." "It is further," he says, "at least in its best and most beautiful pages, a never-failing source of religious and moral education. According to the fine traditional expression it is the book of 'edification,' that is to say, of the building up of our moral being; it strengthens and fosters all that is good and healthy in us." Therefore, he would have children educated in the Bible. But they are not to be taught that it is inspired in any sense other than that in which all supremely beautiful and beneficent literature is inspired; and it is not to be invested, either for children or others, with any so-called supernatural sanctions. "The supremacy of reason and conscience in religious matters as in all the other departments of spiritual life, the historical authority of the Bible freely studied with all the resources furnished by science and apart from all sectarian prejudice—such are the fundamental principles of liberal Protestantism." How far do they carry M. Réville? To a warm appreciation of the moral and spiritual teachings of Jesus; for it is good to find such a thorough-going "free believer," as he calls himself repeatedly, taking the view that criticism has not made it impossible to know what Jesus taught, and believing

in the synoptic tradition. But he will have none of "the speculations of the Apostle Paul or the disciples of Jesus regarding Christ". The synoptics give us "the inner substance of the Gospel, the Spirit of Christ". We are not surprised to find that the "Liberal Christianity" of M. Réville throws off the Virgin birth, "because it is related in different ways"; the miracles of Jesus, which offer no guarantee of authenticity"; "the bodily resurrection of Jesus, the accounts of which are contradictory," etc. "On all these points nothing certain can be known, whereas the true substance of the teaching of Jesus transpires with striking clearness from a comparison of the Gospels." Even the sinlessness of Jesus is an accretion on Christianity, and cannot be proved, he thinks, because we know so little about Him, and what we do know shows that "there were errors in the mind of Christ, and that Jesus was no more infallible than any other creature of God".

Now it is needless to go further. This modern Protestant teacher of theology reaches these conclusions by abiding true, as he thinks, to "the historical authority" of the Gospels. We are glad that he thinks they are historically authoritative, and are inclined to think that it is the only safe kind of authority to claim for Scripture. But surely the historical authority of the Synoptic Gospels is not to be limited to the ethical teaching of Jesus. "The true substance of the teaching of Jesus" contains a great deal more than fine morals. It contains a self-testimony. And this is the fatal vice of teachers who take Réville's line, which is essentially that of Harnack and many more to-day. Their contention is that liberal Protestantism must be founded on religious experience, because metaphysics has destroyed theology. Yet they must have the "teaching of Jesus," and so far they accept the Gospels as its record. But these Gospels also record that He bore testimony to Himself, as one who claimed to be the representative of God on earth. Let them discard the Fourth Gospel, with the same contempt with which they discard St. Paul. They cannot discard such a testimony of Jesus to Himself as Matthew xi. 27. Why, then, do they shut out

the fact that Jesus was a part of His own Gospel? Simply because they will have nothing which they call "miraculous" or "supernatural". Such phrases belong to the age when men misunderstood nature, and in this respect Jesus was the child of His age. Now here is the point at which the ways diverge. With all that M. Réville says about the Protestant principle we agree most thoroughly. With much that he says about religious experience being the ultimate authority we agree too. But without protest we cannot allow a man who accepts the historical authority of the Gospels to throw out of these whatever is unsuitable for his preconceived idea of Christianity. We may have to lighten the load to let the ship sail on the troubled sea of doubt to-day; but the Incarnation, the claim of Christ to be God's representative on earth, and the Resurrection, are not make-weights. To throw them overboard is to give up the entire case. It is not, as M. Réville urges, a case of keeping decisions of œcumenical councils in spite of modern facts. It is a case of dealing honestly with the Gospels, which he accepts. If we have Gospels—and he insists that criticism has not taken them from us—then we have Christ; and the Christ we have is more than a fallible Jewish prophet, albeit the greatest of all prophets. Our Christ, and we get him from the Synoptic Gospels, is one who cannot be explained otherwise than in terms of what we still believe to be the two poles of Christianity—the Resurrection and the Incarnation. You can no more conserve what M. Réville holds to be "the spiritual supremacy of Jesus," without the pull of such a conception of Christ as takes Him out of the natural order, than you can hang Christianity in mid-air. A book like this is plausible and perilous, just because it is so interesting, and professes to be liberal. It is the sort of book laymen of a thinking type are devouring at present. It reduces Christianity to a mere ethic, and ignores the undoubted fact that Christianity cannot be understood apart from the teaching of the Apostles. It reduces the Church of Christ to the level of an association for the promulgation of the moral principles of the Gospel. It regards as mere "impedimenta" truths for which Chris-

tians must fight against the drift of our time as the Romans fought *pro aris et focis*. There is much that is appreciative of the ethic of Christ in M. Réville's pages; but as a volume on Christianity it gives away the case. It throws away the baby with the bath.

DAVID PURVES.

A History of Mediæval Political Theory in the West.

(By R. W. Carlyle, C.I.E., and A. J. Carlyle, M.A.)

Vol. I. The Second Century to the Ninth. By A. J. Carlyle, Chaplain and Lecturer of University College, Oxford. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 8vo, pp. xvii. + 314. *Price* 15s.

This is the first instalment of a work that promises to be of permanent value in the rather technical department to which it belongs. Mr. Carlyle has patiently gathered up the scattered contributions to the history of the theory of Law and the State found in Cicero, Seneca, Ulpian, Gaius, in the Digest of Justinian, and the Institutes of Justinian, and he sets forth clearly and judicially the views of these Roman jurists and writers on law. In another part of the book the author examines the views of the Christian Fathers on equality and private property and the relations of Church and State.

This is eminently a book for the student. In the elaborate footnotes there are long citations in Latin to support the analysis of Mr. Carlyle, and copious references are given for the student's satisfaction. The writers cited include Gaius, Lactantius, Ambrosiaster, Ambrose, Augustine, St. Gregory the Great, Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, Gelasius, Alcuin, Hrabanus Maurus, Smaragdus, Hincmar; and the Digest and the Institutes are referred to. The method of the writer is to elucidate the political theory in respect of natural law, property, slavery, Government authority, and the relations of Church and State in the period under review. This method does not lend itself to descriptive writing in order to interest the general public. The student who wishes to ascertain for himself the growth of opinion on the topics mentioned will

be grateful for the grave judicial style of the author who has weighed the words of his authorities and gives the result of his investigations in deliberate utterances that indicate balanced judgment as well as patient research.

He works back to Aristotle, who asserted the natural inequality of men, a conception perpetuated to our time in Hindu caste, and shows the contrast in Cicero's proposition of the essential equality of men under the law of Eternal Justice. Between Aristotle and Cicero, it may be said, the separating line between the ancient and the modern views of man is to found.

Seneca, holding similar views to Cicero, anticipated the modern theory of the nature of man. The author rapidly descends the centuries. From Seneca he passes to Ulpian (end of second century), who made the fundamental distinction between *jus naturale* and *jus gentium*. The former is primitive and common to all animals, including man. It refers chiefly to instinctive functions; whereas the latter is developed by human intercourse into a body of conventions and compromises found suitable by men in society. This fundamental distinction runs through all social and political institutions, *e.g.*, slavery and government do not come under *jus naturale*. Indeed, they antagonise it: for nothing is more a natural right than freedom and equality. Slavery invades the right to freedom. And government invades the right of equality. These two institutions belong thus to *jus gentium*, but that does not affect their validity. The Roman jurists regarded these established institutions as conventions found by experience to be useful. But they pushed back the sanction of civil law to universal reason and justice, without which obedience cannot be exacted. Essentially unjust government breaks itself; so wedded is mankind to justice. Under the Roman Empire civil law was said to reside in the will of the Emperor: but inasmuch as the soldiers often chose the Emperor, the ultimate authority resided with the people or a section of them.

The other topic treated in this volume is the general conception of the Christian Fathers from Clement (in the first

century) to St. Isidore of Seville (in the seventh), as to slavery, government, and the relations of Church and State. The Fathers founded their arguments chiefly on the Pauline teaching of the solidarity of the race, "There is neither Jew nor Greek". But Paul accepted the institution of slavery which he found at work. Far from denouncing it he admonished slaves to be good slaves, and advised a runaway slave to return to his master. So did the Fathers. Further, Paul almost went out of his way to inculcate reverence to rulers, even though they were Pagans. The Fathers followed this teaching, which may originally have been dictated by prudential considerations, as Christians were accused, rightly or wrongly, of disloyalty and a tendency to anarchy.

There is nothing to show that early Christianity refused to consider private property valid. The communism recorded in the Acts was voluntary and infrequent. By the Fathers, slavery and government are regarded as part of the punishment of sin. In days of primeval bliss there was no slavery, nor was man lord of his brother, but only of the beasts. The Fall changed all that. And thus there is a moral sanction for slavery and government control as marks of our doom for sin.

The ruler for the time being is in the place of God, for government is a divine institution, said Gregory the Great. Others followed his line, and thus the Christian conception transferred the ultimate authority from the people to God.

In the fifth century the differentiation of the functions of Church and State began to crystallise. Gelasius especially affirmed the supremacy of the Church in spiritual matters. The opinion grew, until it became general, that the two authorities—civil and ecclesiastical—were co-ordinate in power, and, each in its own sphere, independent.

In the ninth century the conception of the King's divine authority is conspicuous. And yet the power behind the throne is also felt to be real. In the election of sovereigns, in the compacts made between electors and nominees, the power of the people is made manifest. There is a moral obligation on the King to rule justly, and the Church's

function is to admonish him to do so. Thus the Church has a certain superiority over the State in so far as it consecrates the Sovereign, and admonishes him, and may even depose him.

Such are some of the conceptions treated in this volume, which the student of political theory will value highly, and will consult with respect.

ALEX. TOMORY.

The World's Epoch-Makers.

Descartes, Spinoza, and the New Philosophy. By James Iverach, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Pp. 242, *Price* 3s.

Professor Iverach undertook a large order in trying to condense into one of the volumes of this series the exposition of Descartes and Spinoza, each of whom, in their philosophical systems, might fitly have had a volume to himself. The result is all the more creditable to the writer, who has given an account of the two great movements by which we pass from mediæval to modern philosophy. For fulness of detail, and certainly for lucidity and interest, it leaves nothing to be desired.

It begins with a good chapter on the mediæval attitude of mind to the problems with which these epoch-making thinkers had to deal. "The Middle Ages, themselves altogether unscientific, and only theological, prepared the world for that modern view of the world with which science has made us familiar." "In his doctrine of the certainty of inner experience Augustine anticipated the method of Descartes." Emancipation from Mediævalism came with the assertion of the right to look at the problems of philosophy and religion apart from the presuppositions of the system of the Church. This was the beginning, on the religious side, of the Reformation, and, on another side, of the New Philosophy, the father of which was René Descartes.

A very interesting sketch of his life precedes a competent discussion of the writings of the author of the *Meditations*. It is shown that ultimately the method of Descartes is really an inquiry into the nature and limits of human knowledge. The method was to apply to the problem of knowledge the

solvent of doubt, by which Descartes reached the maxim *Cogito, ergo sum.* The method failed for lack of any analysis of the Self or of self-consciousness. "Its first principle, reduced to impotence in the moment of its birth, remains a principle with no possibility of movement in it." There is, on Descartes' method, "no way of transition from the thinking substance to an extended substance which has no quality save extension". Descartes is therefore the father of modern science rather than of philosophy, for he left the doctrine of the Self in an inchoate state. Yet he set the Self problem for all subsequent philosophers and their schools. The Cartesian school never overcame the crux of the disparity of soul and body, of mind and matter.

While not asserting that Descartes contributed nothing to the argument for the being of God, Professor Iverach shows that the notion of Deity was simply postulated to "save the system from bankruptcy". The force of the argument lay in the strength with which Descartes insisted that "he himself, with the idea of God in him, could not exist if God in reality were not". The argument is good in so far as it is grounded in human experience. Yet when we inquire into what God is, "we find that his method and its results have not added anything to the illustration of the character of God". You cannot explain the world and God from the principle of cause and effect. Teleology must be reckoned with, and the exclusion of purpose had a vital effect on the Cartesian system, which shows a fatal dualism, "to wit, the dualism that subsists between the idealist and mechanical schools of thought".

Descartes is as much the father of modern materialism as of modern idealism. Huxley indeed claims him as the founder of modern physiology in a paper which Professor Iverach characterises as "illustrative not only of Descartes, but also of Huxley". This leads the writer into a long and interesting discussion of the relation between physics and metaphysics, by way of showing that the criteria of objective reality are not so easily determined as the physicists think. "The attitude of the physicist is precisely that of Descartes

so far as he deals with the physical world. That is his significance for modern physical thought." And it amounts to this, that the statement that the universe existed before there were any senses to perceive it, leaves the question of its relation to intelligence untouched. Here the despised metaphysician *must* be called in as a consultant! So it emerges, after very full discussion, that Descartes' system contains the germ of the mechanical theory of the universe, and Huxley is justified in claiming him as its father.

It was given to Spinoza to take up the problems "the answers and the solutions of which Descartes did not see or foresee"—the relation of will and understanding, soul and body, and of God to both. Spinoza is described as "one of the most interesting of human figures and one of the most fascinating of thinkers". The biographical chapter is here again full and interesting. "Spinoza occupies the central position in the thought of the seventeenth century. All the tendencies of the time seem to meet in him. He has affinity with all of them. The scientific movement of the Renaissance is within him as a passion, and he responds to it in every fibre of his being: the mysticism of the Middle Ages and the mysticism of the Hebrew people are in him. All these diverse interests meet in him, and he seeks to bind them all into the organic unity of a logical system."

Spinoza and Descartes are effectively contrasted in the sentence: "Descartes was in search of certainty, and he seemed to find it in the *Cogito, ergo sum.* Spinoza has also his voyage of exploration: but he is in search of another goal, and has a different vision in his mind. Descartes sought a principle of certainty: Spinoza sought for the good." It is shown that, by his assumption that ideas represent reality, Spinoza avoided the ultimate question of philosophy. Spinoza assumed that our thoughts correspond to things. His tractate on the theory of knowledge, therefore, which was never completed, presents us with positions which remained unsifted, uncriticised, and as dogmatically assumed by him as they had been by former thinkers.

The originality of Spinoza, and the points at which he diverged from Descartes, are shown clearly in the review given by Dr. Iverach of the *Exposition of the Cartesian Philosophy*. "It is a fair and able exposition, and he departs as little as possible from the teaching of Descartes. But he does depart." The transition to his final positions in the *Ethics* is made in the *Cogitatio*, in which we see the personal character of God and His distinction from the world vanishing, and in the earlier part of the *Ethics* giving way to the τὸ ὄν of Aryan speculation, though in these writings "Spinoza is still the Hebrew, who feels the weight of the burden handed down to him from of old". In the full exposition which Professor Iverach gives of Spinoza's *Ethics*, it is shown that the proofs of the existence of God are valid if we grant his conception of God, which is void of ethical content. It is to be noted that Spinoza uses perfection in the sense of completeness of existence: it is not to be understood as if it implied moral or mental qualities. It is shown that he is only partially aware of the real problem of the critical philosophy as it presented itself to Kant, *viz.*: what is the source of the agreement between reason and things?

His defective account of the moral emotions, as, *e.g.*, repentance, which was due to his denial of the category of time, is the theme of the last chapter. "Ever and anon Spinoza places us in the timeless scheme of causation, and we are constrained to regard the evolution of our emotions, ideas and conduct as without significance in the intelligible scheme of things." He teaches "a kind of conditional immortality". It too is out of relation to time. The mind endures so far as it is active, and perishes so far as it is passive. "Only those attain to immortality who rise to the third kind of knowledge."

The conclusion of the writer is that "the main difficulty in the acceptance of his teaching, from an ethical point of view, is that it is an ethic for philosophers alone. It neglects the common man, it provides no way of making him a man worth saving. Still, after all drawbacks, Spinoza must be reckoned among the great thinkers of humanity."

The more theological parts of the teaching of Spinoza nd the political side of his philosophy lie outwith the province of this volume, which, within its intended limits, nd in an admirably condensed and lucid manner, furnishes good guide to the student of the modern European Philo. t is an important addition to a series which has thoroughly ustified itself.

David Purves.

Humanism: Philosophical Essays.

By F. C. S. Schiller, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford. London: Macmillan & Co., Limited. 8*vo*, pp. xxv. + 297. *Price* 8*s.* 6*d. net.*

The name of Mr. Schiller became known to us first of all through the honourable mention of him and his work by Professor James of Harvard in his Ingersol Lecture on "Human Immortality". Honourable mention by Professor James, especially on a philosophical question, is a distinction indeed. It led us to be on the watch for any work of Mr. Schiller. *The Riddle of the Sphinx* was followed by the essay on Axioms as Postulates in the volume entitled *Personal Idealism*, and now we have these essays dedicated appropriately enough to Professor James. They are reprinted from various philosophical magazines, with some exceptions and additions which appear for the first time. They are rich in interest of many kinds. There is the personal interest, which is very manifest. It is difficult to express what this interest is. For it is exceedingly elusive. We obtain glimpses of an elusive personality that now flashes on us in a humour, now grim as fate, and again playful as a summer breeze. Mr. Schiller writes with exceeding grace; in fact, he writes a style which reminds us that style and philosophy have generally parted company, and have only a distant acquaintance with one another. Sometimes, indeed, Mr. Schiller allows in his playfulness phrases to flow from his pen, which fall on his opponent with vitriolic energy, and leave a wound and a blister. But these are rare, and are not so frequent as they once were.

Then there is the philosophic interest in the essays. They may from one point of view be taken as a protest against the Idealism which holds the field in most of the universities

of Britain and America, and a protest against the claims of recent philosophy of the Hegelian type. His view may be described as the return of Empiricism, in a new guise and with a new name. He calls it Humanism or Pragmatism. It will be well to let Mr. Schiller speak for himself. "In point of method, Humanism is fully able to vindicate itself, and so we can now define it as the philosophic attitude which, without wasting thought upon attempts to construct experience *à priori*, is content to take human experience as the clue to the world of human experience, to take Man on his own merit, just as he is to start with, without insisting that he must first be disembowelled of his interests, and have his individuality evaporated and translated into technical jargon, before he can be deemed deserving of scientific notice. To remember that man is the measure of things, *i.e.*, of his whole experience-world, and that if our standard measure be proved false all our measurements are vitiated; to remember that man is the maker of the sciences which subserve his human purposes; to remember that an ultimate philosophy which analyses us away is thereby merely exhibiting its failure to achieve its purpose, that, and more might be stated to the same effect, is the real root of Humanism, whence all its auxiliary doctrines spring" (Preface, pp. xix.-xx.).

In defence of the name Humanism, Mr. Schiller reminds us of the old use of the word, when it was used as the antithesis to Barbarism, and he has no hesitation in making a charge against current methods of philosophy as exhibiting a barbarism of temper and a barbarism of style. "Both are human defects which to this day remain too common among philosophers. The former displays itself in the inveterate tendency to sectarianism and intolerance, in spite of the discredit which the history of philosophy heaps upon it. For what would be more ludicrous than to keep up the pretence that all must own the sway of some obsolete and unquestionable creed? Does not every page of every philosophic theory teem with illustrations that a philosophic system is an unique and personal achievement of which not even the servilest discipleship can transfer the full flavour into another's soul?

Why should we therefore blind ourselves to the invincible individuality of philosophy, and deny each other the precious right to behold reality each at the peculiar angle whence he sees it? Why, when others cannot see as we do, should we lose our tempers and the faith that the heavenly harmony can only be achieved by a multitudinous symphony in which each of the myriad centres of experience sounds its own concordant note?" (p. xxii.). As for barbarism of style, Mr. Schiller makes good his charge against philosophy. We do not quote it here, but it is worth reading.

As to the contents of the various essays which make up the book, we have found them to be rich in interest, racy in style, and provocative of thought. The antagonism to Naturalism and Absolutism is pronounced and incisive. The author will have none of them. Sometimes the antagonism is so determined that the author has lost sight of his own warning quoted above, and has become as one-sided and intolerant as those whom he has denounced. His exposition of his own view reminds us of the old saw, "If wishes were horses, then beggars would ride". In short, he seems to lose himself in subjectivity, and to lose all hold on adjectivity, whether of truth or of fact. Briefly, his position seems to be that all systems of philosophy, and all abstract systems whatsoever, are schemes drawn up by the subject for the satisfaction of its own wants. In short, that all our activities are dominated by our desires and wants. It is no doubt true that men only work at that in which they feel an interest, that their schemes are drawn up with a view towards obtaining an understanding of the world in which they live, and to make themselves at home in it. At the same time, it must be observed that the possibility of understanding the world presupposes that the world is intelligible, that it is a system, and that the system may be known. At times Mr. Schiller seems to forget this, and he speaks as if subjective wants, wishes, desires, were all that is relevant.

It is well that the protest is made against Absolutism and Naturalism, and made so effectively as it is made here, but Mr. Schiller has only succeeded in calling attention to some-

hing which philosophy will need to grapple with. The essays are on The Ethical Basis of Metaphysics, Useless Knowledge, Truth, Lotze's Monism, Non-Euclidean Geometry, Reality and "Idealism," Darwinism and Design, Pessimism in Philosophy, Concerning Mephistopheles, On Preserving Appearances, Activity and Substance, The Desire for Immortality, Ethics and Immortality, and Philosophy and a Future Life. At present we do not enter into an account or a criticism of the system of philosophy hinted at in these essays, nor do we dwell on the various interesting problems raised by the several essays. It will be well to wait for the systematic exposition promised by the author. At present we only say that these are essays of the deepest interest, written in the clearest language, in a most alluring style, and packed with thought. We find him most attractive when our dissent is clearest and most vehement. In fact, whether we agree or disagree, Mr. Schiller commands our attention, and for the time rules our thinking. It is pleasant to find out that philosophy may also be literature, and that grace of form and simplicity of expression are not alien to deep thought.

JAMES IVERACH.

Notices.

We have to notice four parts of the *Bibliographie der theologischen Literatur für das Jahr* 1902[1]—an admirable and most welcome compendium, prepared with much skill under the editorship of Professor G. Krüger, with the assistance of Drs. Baentsch, Beer, Christlieb, Clemen, and many other scholars; *Harnack and Loisy*,[2] a brief, pungent criticism by the Rev. T. A. Lacey, with an introductory letter by Viscount Halifax; a new edition, charming in form, of the valuable and suggestive *Lectures on Preaching*,[3] delivered by the late Right Rev. Phillips Brooks, a book that should be in the hands of all theological students, making the second volume of the tasteful series known as the "Handy Theological Library"; the fifth part of Professor T. K. Cheyne's *Critica Biblica*,[4] dealing with a number of difficulties in the books of Joshua and Judges—books in which, confessedly, much requires to be done both in textual criticism (so far as materials are available, which, however, are all too scanty) and in historical criticism, although most will hesitate to follow the ingenious canon in his most characteristic operations; *Herder's Theorie von der Religion und den religiösen Vorstellungen*,[5] by Rudolf Wielandt, Stadtvicar in Heidelberg, a study of Herder, prepared in connexion with the hundredth anniversary of his death, giving an interesting character-sketch of Herder, and a careful

[1] Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn, 1903. 8vo, pp. 240.

[2] London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1904. 8vo, pp. 18. Price 1s. net.

[3] London: H. R. Allenson, 1903. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 281. Price 3s. net.

[4] London: Adam & Charles Black, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. 399-492. Price 3s. net.

[5] Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate, 1904. 8vo, pp. vi. + 127. Price 3s.

tatement of his relations to Leibnitz, the English Deists, Rousseau, Hume, Kant, Semler and others, to whom in arious ways he was indebted, a criticism of his theory of eligion, and an examination of its psychological presupposi-ions, the conception of dogma connected with it, the elativity of dogmatics, etc.; *The Other Room*,[1] a book by Dr. Lyman Abbott, on the great questions of the Future Life, eautiful in form, attractive in style, expounding in a clear, ractical and sympathetic manner such subjects as "The First Fruits of Them that Slept," "God shall give it Body," "How shall we think of the Dead?" the "Practice f Immortality," etc.—a volume containing many helpful uggestions, and concluding with a touching chapter on the arious figures under which death is set forth in the New Testament; *Browning for Beginners*,[2] by the Rev. Thomas Rain, M.A., a book which answers its declared purpose well, nd is likely to be of real service to those to whom Browning is yet a comparatively new study, giving as it does he results of notes suggested by the writer's own early ifficulties, and embodying in a clear and intelligible form nuch that the beginner will be glad to have explained to im regarding Browning's mission as a poet, his surround-ngs, his choice of subjects, his religious teaching, his ptimism, his style, etc.; *Who's Who*,[3] the issue for 1904, bringing the statement of facts up to 15th Sept., 1903—wonderful compendium of information collected with great are, and making a remarkable and useful Biographical Annual in the form of concise sketches of the lives and works of men in all departments of activity; *Grundzüge der Religionswissenschaft*,[4] an authorised German translation, xecuted in very good form by Pastor G. Gehrich, of Professor C. P. Tiele's brief but very useful *Introduction to*

[1] London: Andrew Melrose, 1904. 8vo, pp. 120. Price 3s. 6d. net.
[2] London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. 227. Price s. 6d.
[3] London: Adam & Charles Black. Cr. 8vo, pp. 1700.
[4] Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1904. 8vo, pp. 70. Price 2s. net.

the Study of Religion and its History; another instalment, being half-vol. vi. of Professor J. R. Ainsworth Davis's *Natural History of Animals*,[1] an instructive and most interesting account of the animal life of the world, in its various aspects and relations; *Die Abfassungsverhältnisse der pseudo-justinischen Cohortatio ad Graecos*,[2] by Lic. theol. Willy Gaul, a criticism of previous explanations which have been given of the *Cohortatio* by Oudin, Semisch, Gutschmid, Donaldson, H. Diels, Harnack, Völter, Draeseke, Asmus, Funk and others, and a careful investigation of the historical testimony bearing on the question, leading to the conclusion that the treatise was written in the first fifth of the third century, that materials are not available for identifying the author by name, and that the most we can say is, that he had visited Cumae, and other parts of Italy, and also Alexandria, and that while it is possible he was of Jewish descent, the probability is, that he was of Christian birth and upbringing; the second part of the second volume of Professor K. Müller's *Kirchengeschichte*,[3] one of the best sections of the excellent *Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften* series, embracing the period from the end of the thirteenth century to the second half of the sixteenth, giving a concise, vivid and instructive account of the movements of thought, action and belief preceding the Reformation, and telling the story of the Reformation itself, in the various parts of Europe, with power and pungency; *Symbolik oder christliche Confessions-Kunde*, by Dr. F. Loofs, Professor der Theologie in Halle,[4] forming the sixteenth section of the *Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften*, and the first part of what will be a particularly useful treatise on Creeds,

[1] London: Gresham Publishing Company, 1904. Large 8vo, pp. xii. + 281-494. Price 7s. net.

[2] Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn, 1902. 8vo, pp. 110. Price 3s. 9d. net.

[3] Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902. 8vo, pp. xv. + 571. Price 7s. net.

[4] Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. xv. + 430. Price 6s. 9d. net.

furnishing in a clear and succinct form, on the basis of competent scholarship and wide acquaintance with authorities, all that it is most profitable to know regarding the primitive baptismal formula, the three great symbols of the Ancient Church, the special symbols of Lutheranism, the confessional character of the orthodox Church of the East, the position of dogma in that Church, the doctrinal authorities recognised by it, the story of the sects of the Russian Church, and, in like manner, the confessional genius of the Roman Catholic Church, the authorities recognised by it, the distinctive points in its dogmatic system, and the main points of its cultus—altogether an admirable compendium from which students will get much satisfaction; *The Doctrine of the Church*,[1] by Revere Franklin Weidner, D.D., LL.D., Professor and Doctor of Theology in the Chicago Lutheran Theology Seminary, a series of outline notes, based on the writings of Luthardt and Krauth, prepared with much care, the result, indeed, of long professional experience, and giving an excellent condensed discussion of the various intricate questions relating to the topic of the Church, as they have been understood and agitated from Ignatius and Irenæus downwards; *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur herausgegeben von Theodor Zahn*, vii. Teil, i. Heft,[2] an important section of the great undertaking of Professor Zahn, in which Arthur Hjelt prosecutes an exhaustive inquiry into the Old Syrian Version of the Gospels and the Diatessaron of Tatian, with the special object of defining the relations in which they stand to each other—a book full of details which require close attention, but bringing us to the general conclusion that the Gospels found their way to the Christians of Mesopotamia, not as a *εὐαγγέλιον τετράμορφον*, but separately, at different times, and in various ways, and that Tatian made up his Diatessaron out

[1] Chicago, New York, Toronto: Fleming H. Revel Company. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 120.

[2] Leipzig: Deichert, 1903. 8vo, pp. viii. + 166. Price M.6.

of the four canonical Gospels, which he found in circulation among his fellow-countrymen in a Syrian translation, subjecting the text at the same time to a critical version; *Ménage : Polémiste, Philologue, Poète,* par M^lle^ Elvire Samfiresco,[1] an elaborate, lively and somewhat discussive monograph on a man little known on this side of the Channel, but who made some stir in French circles in the seventeenth century, the founder of the Mercuriales, the Salon that opposed the Academy, the Vadius ridiculed by Molière in *Femmes Savantes.*

[1] Paris: Fontemoing. Large 8vo, pp. 558.

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Gunkel, H. Ausgewählte Psalmen, übers. u. erklärt. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 8vo, pp. x. + 270. M.3.20.

Jakob, H. Im Namen Gottes. Eine sprachl. u. religionsgeschichtl. Untersuchg. zum Alten u. Neuen Testament. Berlin: S. Calvary & Co. 8vo, pp. vii. + 176. M.3.

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Methodist Review; Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique; Homiletic Review; Expository Times; Journal of Theological Studies; American Journal of Theology; Baptist Review and Expositor; Bibliographie der theologischen Literatur für das Jahr 1902; Gressmann's Musik und Musikinstrumente im Alten Testament; Ryan's The Gospels of the Sundays and Festivals; D'Eyragues' Les Psaumes; Arthur's Jeremia; Karppe's Essais de Critique et d'Histoire de Philosophie; Day's Seeking the Kingdom; Bernard and others' The Psalms of Israel; Leipoldt's Saïdische Auszüge aus dem 8. Buche der Apostolischen Konstitutionen; Bonwetch's Drei georgisch erhaltenen Schriften von Hippolytus; Lamers's Zedekunde; Muss-Arnolt's Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language; Lucius's Zur aussern und innern Mission; Luquet's Aristote et l'Université de Paris pendant le xiii^e Siècle; Hort's St. Mark.

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The Book of the Covenant in Moab: a Critical Inquiry into the Original Form of Deuteronomy.

By John Cullen, M.A., D.Sc., Edinburgh. Glasgow: Maclehose & Sons, 1903. 8*vo*, pp. x.+244. *Price* 5*s. net.*

The Book of Genesis.

With Introduction and Notes by S. R. Driver, D.D. Westminster Commentaries. London: Methuen & Co., 1904. 8*vo*, pp. xxii., lxxiv.+420. *Price* 10*s.* 6*d.*

(1.) This is an elaborate monograph, of a kind more frequent in German than in English, devoted to one particular thesis. The writer is dissatisfied with the commonly accepted view as to the kernel of Deuteronomy, which finds it in chapters v.-xxvi. and xxviii., of which v.-xi. forms the introduction, and xii.-xxvi. the laws, whilst xxviii. is regarded as the conclusion which moved Josiah to rend his garments. This has been attacked by Wellhausen on the ground of the unsuitability of the introduction to the laws, and he proposed to regard the laws only as the original. His theory has not found much acceptance, and now Dr. Cullen proposes to regard the "introduction" as the original, and the laws as a later addition. This is the point of his book, though modified by a wholesale rearrangement of the contents of Deuteronomy. The larger half of the work, in twelve sections, is devoted to this reconstruction of what he considers the original form of Deuteronomy; the second portion, to the subsequent growth of Deuteronomy by the addition of the Law code, and other parts of the canonical work. An appendix, in three divisions, prints the result of the reconstructions in continuous form.

It is evident that this theory, which is novel, if nothing else, starts from the same point as Wellhausen's—the separation of the "introduction" from the laws. It is unfortunate

for the writer that he has practically nothing new to bring forward of any weight against the accepted theory, for unless readers are convinced of the necessity of this separation, they are not likely to read much further. Reference is made to the length, the didactic character, the want of special applicability in chapters v.-xi., as arguments against its introductory character. We find an ominous readiness to get rid of the phrase "statutes and judgments" as the work of a redactor. The presence of the Decalogue in chapter v. is considered an objection; if present, the writer thinks there would have been "an appeal to its authority" in the later portion. This ignores the fact that the whole work is written in the name of Moses, and rests on "a continuous Mosaic tradition"; "the Mosaic nucleus was expanded and developed in various directions, as national life became more complex, and religious ideas matured" (Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. lvii.). Further reference is made to an alleged difference of purpose between the two sections. It is said that the command of vii. 5, to destroy altars, pillars, Asherim, etc., does not involve destruction of the *places*, which are distinctly named in xii. 2. A difficulty is made of the absence of mention in the earlier portion of the centralisation of worship at Jerusalem, but one might as well object that Dr. Cullen's own Introduction was not written by the same hand as was the Appendix, because it does not contain his final results, but only prepares for them. Nor is the next stage of the argument any more convincing. We are asked to believe on *a priori* grounds that "a new law code is usually not the instrument but the outcome of a successful revolution". The writer sees the rock in his course—the distinct statement of the narrative of Josiah's reformation that this sprang from "the book of the law" found in the Temple. He tries to evade it by the supposition that the reforms did not take place at once; "it appears quite a reasonable supposition that in the narrative of 2 Kings xxiii., we have a telescoped account of a series of reforms, stretching, it may be, over a period of some years, a mixing together of things which were done at different times, and possibly in a different order"

(p. 17). Really, we ought not to be asked to give up definite statements in the interests of a mere theory, itself requiring to be proved.

The working out of the theory in detail is often ingenious, and shows a considerable amount of painstaking labour, but is quite unconvincing. Take, for example, the means by which a start at reconstruction is made. The well-known passage in Jeremiah (xi. 1-8), in which reference is supposed to be made to the Deuteronomic Reformation, is taken for a starting point. What passage in the present Deuteronomy resembles it most? The writer fixes on Deuteronomy xxviii. 69-xxix. 14, and concludes that this formed the introduction to iv. 10 ff., which resembles it in style and contents. In this manner, one link picks up another, and a quite plausible chain is the result. But suppose we were to start with some other "resemblance" between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy? The very passage in Jeremiah to which Dr. Cullen appeals is considered by Duhm to be based, not on chapter xxviii. 69 ff. but on chapter xxvii.; this is far more likely, on account of the reference to the "Curse," and the prophet's "Amen". But with such a start, we could make up an edition of Deuteronomy entirely different from that now offered to us—if it were worth while to spend the time on such an academic exercise.

It is disappointing to reader, as well as to author, to characterise in this manner a book which is so laborious in method and detail as this. We can only hope that Dr. Cullen will be more fortunate in the next thesis to which he devotes his energies. As it is, we cannot feel that he has added anything to our knowledge either of Deuteronomy or of the Reformation with which it is connected. Nor can we believe that such purely subjective methods of work are likely to win more acceptance when applied to the "higher," than they have found in the "lower" criticism.

(2.) A characterisation of Dr. Driver by his Oxford colleague in the work of Old Testament exegesis ascribes to him,

amongst other qualities, "a minute . . . attention to correctness of details" and "a sympathetic interest in the difficulties of the ordinary orthodox believer" (*Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, p. 250). The combination of these qualities in Dr. Driver's most recent book has given it a double importance. It will be indispensable to the student through its collection of facts and references to literature; it will do much, at the same time, to bridge the gulf existing between popular ideas of the Bible and its scientific exegesis. The book consists of (1) the commentary proper, very brief notes being printed underneath the text of the Revised Version; (2) longer detached notes dealing with points of special interest or difficulty, of which there are thirty-three, besides two Excursuses; (3) an introduction of considerable length. The general aim of the series to which it belongs is to supply something "less elementary than the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, less critical than the *International Critical Commentary*, less didactic than the *Expositor's Bible*". No scholar is likely to be more qualified to realise such an aim than Dr. Driver. As a text-book for older students of the English text the work is admirable; the necessary facts are given in the briefest possible form, and with that methodical and precise tabulation for which the student with limited time is so grateful. Dr. Driver remarked on one occasion to his Hebrew class at Christ Church, "If you want to learn Hebrew, you must make lists—make lists". The precept is most characteristic of the author's method, and is repeatedly exemplified in the present volume. Whether he is dealing with geological epochs or the names of God, with theories of the site of Paradise or the conditions of land tenure in Egypt, the emphasis falls on the necessity for making a complete collection of the data, with German thoroughness of detail. It is the natural result of such an emphasis that conjectural emendation of the text is reduced to the unavoidable minimum. This agrees, of course, with the plan of the series, but in any case, Dr. Driver has nothing to fear from that devotion to subjective emendation which is the Nemesis of so many critical commentaries. The plan of the Westminster

Series is considerably better than that of the International Critical for practical use and rapid reference. There is a growing opinion that the most useful form of commentary must give a continuous translation of the text, with condensed notes, such as these, on the same page—notes that make no attempt at continuity, but simply relate to particular words or phrases. We may reasonably expect that the commentary of the future will become more and more a compendium of brief statements, joined with copious references to the voluminous and ever-growing literature. Detailed discussion will be relegated to special monographs, or only retained, as here, in the form of detached notes. Every student of Scripture who can really appreciate more than a dogmatic statement of results is likely to have the principal literature either on his shelves, or at hand in some reference library. From this point of view, the two most recent Bible Dictionaries ought to have considerable influence on the future work of the commentator. Dr. Driver has made frequent reference to them, in order to secure brevity in the present volume. There cannot be much on any Biblical subject which has not been gathered into the capacious nets of *The Dictionary of the Bible* and the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. The very different attitudes of these two great works is a further guarantee of their united completeness. They make it possible for future commentaries to be considerably less in size and price. A well-known maker of commentaries once said to the writer of this review, "Commentaries are not much use". Presumably he meant that their discussion of detail is usually inadequate to the needs of the specialist, whilst serving only to bewilder and confuse the plain man who enters the maze. A commentary would discharge its true function for both classes of readers if it were made more in the nature of an index to literature and an analysis of results. The great usefulness of the present volume largely depends on the advance made in this direction. Here, for example, is a typical note (on Gen. iv. 23, 24) giving all that is needed in the most abbreviated form: "The Song of the Sword. Lamech, returning, we may suppose, from some

deed of blood, and brandishing his weapon in his hand, boasts before his wives—as an Arab chief, it is said, will do still—of what he has done; and expresses his delight at the means which he now possesses of avenging effectually bodily injuries." The abundance of references, especially to archæological and anthropological detail, can only be realised by turning over the pages.

Together with these concise explanations of the text, verse by verse, and point by point, there are longer notes scattered through the volume, which deal with matters requiring detailed discussion. In such a book as Genesis, these naturally cover a great variety of subjects—persons and incidents, customs and institutions, geography and history, primitive theology. They exhibit in a marked degree that combination of qualities to which attention has been called above. The statements are scientifically frank; for example, "Enoch may thus be reasonably regarded as a Hebraised Enmeduranki, the converse with his god being divested of all superstitious adjuncts, and interpreted in a purely ethical sense" (p. 78). Yet ample sympathy is shown with those whose interest in the Bible is wholly religious and practical. Thus a note on stone-worship (Jacob at Bethel) concludes its survey of anthropological parallel by the words: "For us the religious value of the narrative lies not in what is said about the sacred stone, but in the truths which find expression . . . that heaven and earth are not spiritually parted from one another, that God's protecting presence accompanies His worshippers, and that He is ever at their side, even when they are away from their accustomed place of worship, or are otherwise tempted by circumstances not to realise the fact" (p. 268). No better example of the kind of exegetical note required by the educated preacher or teacher could be given than the following restrained, yet suggestive analysis of Lot's character. "He is selfish, weak, and worldly; he thinks of himself before his uncle, and chooses for the sake of luxury and ease, to dwell in the midst of temptation. . . . Lot is one of the many *τύποι ἡμῶν* in the Old Testament; and his history is a lesson of the danger of thinking too

exclusively of worldly advantage and present ease" (p. 205). Reference might have been made to Newman's *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, vol. iii., p. 1, where also Lot is considered as a type of worldliness. In some instances Dr. Driver has given such references, and more generously than is usual; compare the note on Jacob's struggle at Penuel (p. 297), where the names of Stanley, Charles Wesley, Robertson, Bright, and A. B. Davidson occur. This practice, if more generally adopted, would do much to reconcile Biblical scholarship with practical homiletics. Why should "practical" commentaries be written so exclusively by those who have no claim to first-rank scholarship? Why divorce the critical from the practical to the extent which at present prevails, by which both are losers? The ideal commentary would not only facilitate reference to the storehouses of scholarship, but would also form a practical handbook to the acknowledged masterpieces of exegetical discourse.

One of the marks of distinction between the ancient and the modern commentary is found in the use of anthropological data. The ancient Hebrew is no longer presented to us like Muhammed's coffin—suspended between earth and heaven. Ethnological parallels are no longer cited timorously, as a mere shadow of the true tabernacle. Hebrew rites and customs take their place in an organic development. A good example may be found in the note on Circumcision (p. 189). Dr. Driver explains it, in the light of comparative anthropology, as "a rite of initiation into manhood," though he is careful to point out the presence of a special significance in Israel. May we not carry the explanation one step further than this accepted point? It is clear that related rites, like the Australian sub-incision, cannot be accounted for on physiological grounds. But is not the mutilation of particular organs a product of that primitive psychology which distributed personality, as we may almost say, to special portions of the body? Take, for example, the tongue ordeal as practised in Arabia. A witness "was put to the test by a live coal being placed upon her tongue" (Blunt's *A Pilgrimage to Nejd*, vol. i., p. 10). With this compare the practice of

the Australian medicine-man whose professional equipment requires a hole bored through his tongue (*The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, Spencer and Gillen, p. 523). This cannot possibly serve a useful purpose. Is it not the partial devotion of an organ to unknown powers? Ought we not to explain circumcision before puberty and marriage as a similar sacrifice of part of an organ previous to the period of its use, in order to save the rest from invisible malignancies?

Other notes of special interest are those on the Deluge ("we must suppose that there was once an actual extraordinary overflow of the Euphrates," p. 108), and the sacrifice of Isaac (p. 221). It is instructive to compare the discussion of the latter with that in Mozley's *Ruling Ideas of Early Ages*, and to note the different aspect of the subject when approached from the standpoint of modern scholarship. We miss a detached note on one subject—that of primitive psychology. The references to man's creation from the dust (p. 55) would be likely to convey a false idea of the Hebrew conception of personality to any one not in touch with primitive thought. To say "This is obviously a pictorial or symbolical expression of the fact that there is a material side to his nature" implies a psychological discrimination foreign to Hebrew ideas. Is not Dr. Driver still influenced by unhistoric systemisation when he speaks of the soul as the "seat" of psychical phenomena? The term is rightly applied to the heart or the liver, but scarcely to the unlocalised nephesh, which is a *principle*, rather than a *seat* of life.

We have yet to notice the Introduction, the most interesting, and perhaps the most valuable portion of this work. It may possibly come to take the same place as a compendium of critical method, as the Introduction to *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Samuel* has taken in regard to Semitic Epigraphy. The seventy-four pages are allotted to four subjects. The first section goes over the familiar ground of the literary analysis of Genesis, but with a fulness of treatment that will make it useful even to the advanced student. (Ryle's article in Hastings' *Dictionary* is little more than half

he length, and Moore's in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* is less han half.) The second section deals with the chronology. We are reminded of the inconsistency between P and JE, nd the conclusion is reached that "the chronology of the Book of Genesis—which is in effect P's chronology—in spite of the ostensible precision of its details, has *no historical value*". The third section discusses the historical value of he book. In regard to the pre-historic period, we are offered a patient and comprehensive survey of the evidence for the great antiquity of man. The evidence of Assyrian nd Egyptian civilisation, of philology, ethnology and geology s shown to be overwhelmingly against the date for the creation of man implied by the statements of Genesis (Masoretic Text, B.C. 4157, LXX 5328). The writers of these early chapters "report faithfully what was currently believed among the Hebrews respecting the early history of mankind," but are ignorant of "the real beginnings either of he earth itself, or of man and human civilisation upon it" (p. lii.). Nor is the conclusion so very different in regard to the patriarchal period. Full weight is given to such evidence for historicity as there is—tenacity of memory, twofold testimony of J and E, sobriety and moderation of the narratives, general credibility of incident, the work of Moses as implying such a past history as this. There is no contemporary monumental corroboration. As for the appeal to topography nd Oriental atmosphere, we are reminded that "the narratives of Genesis are wonderful photographs of scenery nd life; but they carry in themselves no proof that the scenery and life are those of the patriarchal age and not hose of the age of the narrators" (p. liii.). On the other nand, the theory of Ewald and others that Genesis gives us merely tribal traditions cast into the form of individual biography is dismissed as a universal explanation on account of "the abundance of personal incident and detail in the patriarchal narratives as a whole" (p. lvii.). Dr. Driver's own acceptance of a residuum of historicity is stated with significant caution: "It is still, all things considered, difficult to believe that some foundation of actual personal history does

not underlie the patriarchal narratives" (p. lvii.). Three modifying factors of the "substantial historical nucleus" due to popular oral tradition are frankly admitted: (1) the desire to account for existing facts and institutions, such as the sanctity of Bethel; (2) the importation into the personal narratives of later tribal movements, etc. (Ishmael and Bedawin); (3) religious idealisation. These concessions practically reduce the historical element to an unknown quantity. Dr. Driver rightly emphasises the fact that this conclusion is reached apart from any prejudice against the supernatural and miraculous. This is a point of great importance in the present phase of thought. Exegetes, writing in the study, or speaking from the pulpit, owe it to the truth and to their hearers to make clear their personal attitude to a spiritual world, such as the Bible implies. Dr. Driver has done great service by showing critical scholarship in complete independence of naturalistic prepossessions. Consequently he will have the sympathy of his readers in the closing section of the Introduction, which argues for the unimpaired religious value of the book: "the religious value of the narratives of Genesis, while it must be placed upon a different basis from that on which it has hitherto been commonly considered to rest, remains in itself *essentially unchanged*" (p. lxviii.). Great ideas and spiritual types still remain ours. "Without any conscious moral purpose pervading the narrative, elementary lessons about right and wrong, and God and man, are taught through the simple experiences and vicissitudes of four generations in an Eastern home. In Genesis, more than in any other part of the Bible, God talks with men, as a father with his child" (p. lxxiii.). The section must be read as a whole for its admirable qualities to be appreciated. It is fortunate, indeed, for the interpretation of the Old Testament, that our foremost Hebrew scholar should be ready to devote his time and energy to such patient exposition as this. It is a rare gift to be able to explain the facts to the educated public in general, without irritation and annoyance to the special student, who will find in this book, taken in conjunction with Spurrell's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Genesis*,

l that even he needs. To appreciate the high qualities of ıe work of Dr. Driver, one has only to turn to the Prefatory ote by the general editor of the series. It is meant to be sop to Cerberus. How different from Dr. Driver's clear dis-rimination of the historic and the religious value of Genesis the plausible, yet quite unscientific remark, "the fact of ıspiration, once admitted on the higher level of moral and piritual tone, may well carry its influence over into details fact, and turn the balance, when otherwise uncertain, on ıe side of trustworthiness"!

H. Wheeler Robinson.

St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things.

By the Rev. H. A. A. Kennedy, M.A., D.Sc. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904. *8vo*, pp. xx. + 370. *Price 7s. 6d. net.*

Our study of Dr. Kennedy's work on "Philippians" in the Expositor's Greek Testament prepared us to expect much from his Cunningham Lectures on the eschatology of St. Paul, recently delivered in Edinburgh, and we have not been disappointed. This volume is announced as "a study in the history of early Christian thought. This description fixes the method and the limits of the investigation." Dr. Kennedy never outsteps the "limits," and he keeps absolutely faithful to the "method". His aim is to show that Paul's eschatological outlook has a vital bearing on his theology as a whole, and colours what are to him the normative aspects of Christianity—his doctrines of justification and the new life. Dr. Kennedy sets out with the paradoxical position that St. Paul has no eschatology—that is, he never approached the subject in a systematic fashion. And the necessary caveat is given that the problems concerning the last things which arise to us did not appeal to the apostle at all. Paul's thought transcended such questions as that of an intermediate state, and the interest of the question of a future life for Christian communities explains why the apostle has so little to say as to the destiny of the wicked, and the resurrection and punishment of unbelievers. Dr. Kennedy shows that Paul's scheme of thinking leaves room for a general resurrection, and that no exegetical juggling can get rid of his conception of an awful destiny for the impenitent. But "he was not possessed by any painful curiosity. He knew that he had found eternal life in Jesus

Christ. That fact gives its decisive basis to his eschatology." The attempts of Cox and Farrar to rid the adjective "aionios" of its natural and, apart from this controversy, invariably accepted sense, "eternal," in the writings of the New Testament, "reveal the difference between the early Christian and the modern standpoint". In fact, Dr. Kennedy never allows us to forget that theologians of all schools have sinned in not seeing that Paul's conceptions must be studied "in the context of his whole thought".

Although the view is taken that, in the strict sense, Paul had no eschatology, there are certain clear landmarks which come into view—*viz.*, the parousia or final advent of Christ, the resurrection from the dead, and the consummation of a redeemed and glorified humanity, in which the universe reaches the goal of the divine purpose.

These form, therefore, the divisions of the book, but they are preceded by discussions of the formative influences in Paul's conceptions of the last things, and of the sense in which he used the words life and death. The influences which moulded the apostle's eschatology are shown to have been (1) the Old Testament mediated by the teaching of Jesus; (2) Judaism, especially its doctrines of retribution and resurrection; (3) his own Christian experience; and (4) the eschatology of Jesus, between which and that of Paul there is shown to be a remarkable parallelism.

In this chapter there is a fine discussion of Paul's rediscovery of the Old Testament for himself as a Christian, on which Dr. Kennedy, in opposition to "current fashion," lays great emphasis. We cannot enlarge on the exceedingly fresh treatment given to Paul's conversion as the supreme factor in shaping the eschatological as well as every other element in his religious thought. It is particularly timely, in view of recent attempts by Professor James and others to correlate Paul's vision of Christ with forms of "sensory automatism," and rank it with Constantine's cross in the sky. Paul's whole life and aspirations were not transformed by a photism! The emphasis laid on the personal Christian experience of Paul as the genesis of his conceptions of the

last things is Dr. Kennedy's explanation of the fact that his utterances on these "are chiefly positive". Little help, therefore, can be got from Paul in regard to modern speculations on such subjects as the intermediate state, conditional immortality, and others. "St. Paul is often cited in modern books as an authority for views which he would not have understood, as a witness to theories foreign to his entire method of thought." As a true scholar must, Dr. Kennedy pins his reader to St. Paul's "point of view," and "the precise significance of his language". In the chapter on Paul's conceptions of life and death, it is shown that his religious outlook is dominated by the conception of "death as the ruin, and of life as the triumphant continuance of the whole personality". The chapter is full of the most competent and illuminating exegetical work.

In his treatment of the parousia, Dr. Kennedy shows that Paul has taken his stand on the teaching of Jesus Himself. His claim to be Judge is "the point at which the foundations of a distinctly Christian eschatology were laid". The lack of pictorial drapery, and the reticence of Paul as to the judgment, are remarked and accounted for by his specific conception of salvation.

Probably the part of this book which will be most interesting and fruitful to students of Paulinism in relation to the last things is the chapter on St. Paul's conception of the resurrection. To review it in detail is impossible. Suffice to say that it leaves nothing out, and is an exceedingly fresh treatment of a most perplexing subject. It starts from the position that "the new life which St. Paul knows he has received from the risen Christ is one which embraces the entire personality". Paul is therefore true to the genuine Hebrew tradition, and in no way content with the Hellenistic idea of immortality. We are glad to see Dr. Kennedy emphasising an important apologetic point—the correspondence between Paul's doctrine of a spiritual body and the narrated appearances of the risen Christ on earth. "They appear to us in not a few points to adjust themselves with remarkable accuracy to St. Paul's idea of the spiritual body."

The whole chapter is a new commentary on 1 Cor. xv., and forms a great contribution to the discussion of the problem of a future life.

In the chapter on St. Paul's conception of the consummation of the kingdom, full justice is done to the eschatological element in Christ's doctrine of the kingdom, which is a generally recognised fact now, and to the fact that, while Paul's conception of the kingdom is mainly eschatological, he also recognises the kingdom as a realised fact on earth. Dr. Kennedy thinks that "New Testament theology has been too apt to lay exclusive stress on the individualism of St. Paul". The broader sweep of his vision is therefore recognised in his conception of the consummation as a triumph of redeemed humanity. "We can discern what lofty heights of thought lie around St. Paul's conception of the future of redeemed humanity." "As the apostle pictures that future of redeemed believers, all transfigured into the likeness of their Redeemer and Head, the whole scene glows and quivers with radiant splendour." Of course there is an obverse side to this, for on Dr. Kennedy's reading of Paul, "the main outlines of his doctrinal teaching leave no place for and suggest no approximation to a theory of universal salvation". To Paul there are "proud and perverse wills which steadfastly refuse to bow to the divine purpose of mercy," albeit that purpose has a universal scope. Nor is this to be controverted by solitary proof texts of a universalistic scope which, as the author says, "have wrought more havoc in theology than all the heresies". But the fate of sinners is left by Paul, as by Jewish eschatology, "shrouded in darkness". In closing, Dr. Kennedy disposes in a sentence of the pre-millennialists in the words: "Thus in our judgment [he is speaking of the text "Then cometh the end"] the argument to be drawn from St. Paul's own words is decisive against a protracted struggle between Christ and His adversaries after the parousia".

Enough has been said to show that in Dr. Kennedy we have a new writer to be reckoned with, and to be thankful for. He has written an extremely able and scholarly book,

in which there is not a dull page. And when we lay it down we feel that he may legitimately claim, as he does in the Preface, to have made plain Paul's indebtedness to the earlier revelation as illuminated by his Christian experience, and the decisiveness with which Paul grounds our Christian hope, not in speculations about personality, but in the fact of the relation of the individual soul to the risen Lord Jesus Christ.

David Purves.

Acta Pauli aus der Heidelberger Koptischen Papyrus, Handschrift No. 1 herausgegeben.

Von Carl Schmidt. Übersetzung, Untersuchungen und Koptischer Text. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. 2 *vols. Vol. I.* Pp. viii. + 240 + 80. *Vol. II. Tafelband.* 80 *Photographic Plates. Price £2 2s.*

This important and long-expected work has at length appeared. The author begins by remarking that when in the autumn of 1897 he first announced his discovery of the original Acts of Paul, he had no idea that their publication would be so long deferred. But no one who examines the facsimiles of the Coptic fragments so beautifully reproduced in vol. ii. will wonder at the delay. Only one whole page has been preserved, and very many of the 2000 fragments consist of tiny pieces which could only be conjecturally deciphered and arranged. One cannot be too grateful to the learned Professor for having persevered with the laborious task, for although the quantitative result is not very great, most of the matter being already known to us, in a variety of ways most important light has been thrown on the real nature of this ancient work, more especially on the fact which now comes to light that it included three apocryphs already known to us, *viz.*, the Acts of Paul and Thecla, the so-called third Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians and the letter to which that Epistle was supposed to be a reply, and the Martyrium Pauli.

The fragments were purchased by Dr. Reinhardt of Cairo from a dealer in Coptic antiquities in Achmim. Since Achmim is a centre for the sale of such antiquities, this does not of itself tell us where they were found. But some of the fragments show signs of having been preserved in the sand, and a number of linguistic peculiarities prove that they

are written in that special variety of Sahidic which is known as the dialect of Achmim.

The arrangement of the fragments in the Atlas which forms vol. ii. had been completed when a new and important clue was supplied by Dr. Gerhard of Heidelberg. He pointed out that the way in which the fibres of the papyrus ran in relation to the writing indicated whether the fragment belonged to the first or second half of the book. If Dr. Gerhard is right, this will furnish a valuable clue to all students of ancient papyri. The order of the translation, which follows this plan, seems as near the truth as without further discoveries it is possible to get.

It is a piece of great good fortune that amongst the fragments is the conclusion of the whole MS. together with the subscription, "The Acts of Paul according to the Apostle," *i.e.*, according to St. Paul himself. As the fragment which thus concludes is the story of St. Paul's martyrdom, we have a parallel here to the conclusion of the Pentateuch with the story of the death of Moses. Probably the good people of the second century found no more difficulty in attributing the account of his own death to St. Paul than many devout Christians have until recently in attributing Deut. xxxiv. to Moses.

The story opens with the tale of Anchares whose son is raised from the dead by the Apostle. This occurs at Antioch in Pisidia. Then follows the first of the lemmata, or sections, into which the MS. is divided, "After the flight from Antioch when he wished to go up to Iconium". Under this heading we have the story of Paul and Thecla, the greater part of which is preserved. The next lemma is, "When he had left Antioch and taught in Myrrha". Here at Myrrha is recounted the story of Hermocrates, the ὑδρωπικός. At St. Paul's command the sufferer's complaint is suddenly eased, and the patient left for dead, till the Apostle at a word restores him. The narrative is crude and fabulous to a degree. Probably more educated readers, such as Origen, attached an allegorical meaning to this and the other miraculous episodes of the work. An illustration

of a mediæval Psalter representing David "sinking in the deep waters" occurs to me, in which the King is represented in the last stage of dropsy. A similar allegorical explanation might be suggested for the story of Hermippus being struck with sudden blindness as he rushes sword in hand on the Apostle. He was angry because he wanted his father to die so that he might succeed to the inheritance! The blindness may be taken to signify a soul in the darkness of sin. St. Paul, on his true repentance, restores his sight. The discovery of this section about Hermocrates harmonises with the evidence supplied by the "Cæna Cypriani" (Harnack, *T. u. U. N. F.*, iv. 3 *b*). This tractate contains about 470 headings, of which the majority relate to the canonical Scriptures, but the last fifteen are taken from the Acts of Paul and Thecla, and, as now becomes clear, from other parts of the Acts of Paul. For amongst them are these four: 1. ventrem aperuit Hermocrates; 2. panem petebat Hermocrates; 3. murmurabat Hermippus; 4. effudit Hermocrates, which are evidently from these Acts.

The next lemma is, "When he left Myrrha and wished to go up to Sidon". Here the Apostle and his companions are imprisoned in a temple, but one half of the temple at the Apostle's prayer falls down, while the other in which he stands remains intact. Next we have a fourth lemma, "When he left Sidon and wished to go up to Tyre". Here St. Paul casts out some devils. After this come a series of mutilated fragments, but the Apostle is supposed by Dr. Schmidt to travel on to Jerusalem, since we come to a fragment belonging to the first half which runs as follows: "Thou findest thyself in view of Jerusalem. But I trust in the Lord that thou wilt . . . (*hiatus of four lines*) . . . Saul . . . (*further hiatus*)." The author seems fairly certain that he is right in here reading "Saul". This seems to me to render it more probable that this fragment represents some companion, possibly Barnabas, bringing Saul to Jerusalem before his name was changed to Paul, and while he was yet suffering from partial blindness.

Further fragments in the first half follow, amongst which

may be noted a story in which St. Paul raises Phrontina from the dead. This concludes the first half, and we now come to a fifth lemma, "When he left . . . and wished to go up to Philippi". Here, as presently appears, St. Paul was put in prison because of Stratonike the wife of Apollophanes. Does this mean that she had left her husband in consequence of the Apostle's preaching? The canonical story of the Pythia occurred in these Acts in connexion with Lystra, as appears from a Catena on 2 Tim. iii. 11 (quoted from Cramer by Schmidt, p. 150). In this we find the following gloss on the words "Afflictions which came to me at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra," *viz.*, "at Iconium some say on account of Thecla; at Lystra, whence Timothy came; and some again say on account of the woman that had the spirit of the Python".

In this connexion we may notice an ivory carving (*c.* 292, in Dalton's *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum*) of the late fourth or early fifth century. One of the three panels represents two scenes in St. Paul's life. In the first scene Thecla appears leaning her left elbow on a wall. On the right St. Paul is seated and holds an open roll in both hands. In the second scene a man stands in the act of throwing a large stone and St. Paul has fallen to the ground, and raises his right hand in self-defence. This seems to me to be an illustration of two scenes in the Acts of Paul, which would thus appear to have contained the story of the stoning of the Apostle at Lystra.

While St. Paul was at Philippi messengers came with a letter from Corinth complaining of the teaching of Simon and Cleobius. Here follows the apocryphal correspondence. The Corinthians complained of these false teachers who held that "God is not the Almighty, and that there will be no resurrection of the flesh, that the Creation of man was not God's work, and that the Lord did not come in the flesh, and was not born of Mary, and that the world was not made by God but by angels". This was the teaching of the extreme Docetic school of Gnostics to which at a later period Marcion belonged. St. Paul in his reply asserts

"that our Lord Jesus Christ was born of Mary, of the seed of David, a holy Spirit being sent down from heaven into her from the Father, that He might descend into this world, and redeem all flesh from the dead by his own flesh, as an earnest whereof He gave Himself to us". And the Creed of these teachers is further described thus: "They say that God has not made heaven and earth and all that is in them. Behold it is the faith of the accursed snake which they hold." Possibly this is a reference to the Naassenes or Ophites, who are said to have used the fourth Gospel. We learn from Hippolytus (*Hær.*, v. 3) that the Naassenes explained away St. John i. 3, "nothing was made without Him," so that they appear to have considered their views Scriptural and to have claimed to be within the Church. It is noticeable that Simon and Cleobius are described as "perverting Christ's words," and rather as false teachers within the Church than open heretics. Schmidt doubts this, but one recalls the passage 1 Cor. xv. 12. "How say some *among you*, etc.," *i.e.*, there was a section within the Church which took this view even in St. Paul's day. And the writer of these Acts appears to refer to them, for he makes St. Paul say, "They understand not the sowing of wheat and other plants," which recalls 1 Cor. xv. 37.

Other fragments refer to prophecies of St. Paul's sufferings and triumphs in Jerusalem and Rome, and finally we come to the concluding fragment from the Martyrium Pauli.

In addition to the text both in Coptic and German, Schmidt's work is divided into a number of sections in which he examines into the whole question of these Acts. First, we have a history of the Acts in the ancient Church; next a discussion of the question of authorship, and time, and place of composition, and finally sections on the character and historical value of the Acts, and the integrity of the text. This is all done in a most lucid and satisfactory manner, even if one does not always accept the results arrived at. The book will at once take its place as the best authority on the subject.

Origen's reference to the Acts of Paul is laudatory. He

quotes from it, "Hic est verbum animal vivens," which he remarks is rightly put, though not expressed so well as in the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel. One is reminded of Aristotle's definition of God as τὸ πρῶτον ζῶον. We see from this fragment that, had we the whole work (which contained 3,560 στίχοι, or according to Schmidt's reckoning, some 84 double sheets of papyrus), we should probably find it to contain philosophical reflections akin to those which follow the well-known story of St. Peter's crucifixion in the Acta Petri. Curiously enough this very story is also quoted by Origen as occurring in the Acts of Paul. "If any one likes to receive that which is written in the Acts of Paul, as said of the Saviour, 'I go to be crucified again'." Harnack may very well be right in supposing that the old Acts of Peter did not contain an account of St. Peter's martyrdom, but that this originally occurred in the Acts of Paul. One notices identical phrases in the two Martyria of Peter and Paul, as, *e.g.*, when both Apostles decline to save their lives, saying, "Would you have me a runaway slave (δραπέτης)?" The original Acts of Peter appear to have been exclusively confined to the reign of Claudius. Agrippa, who is angry with St. Peter because he persuades his concubines to leave him, is said to have been so furious "because of his disease". Clearly then he was the Agrippa of Acts xii. The *dénouement* of those Acts was the attempt of Simon Magus to fly and his fall, not St. Peter's death. Their title is "Actus Petri cum Simone Mago". And when Simon disappears, the story properly ends. Not improbably the author of these "Acts of Paul," a thoroughly orthodox but encratite writer, wished to do for St. Paul what the writer of the Acts of Peter had done for Peter, *i.e.*, glorify him as the Apostle of continency. More especially would this motive be in place if in the original Acts of Peter, Simon Magus was really a mask for St. Paul. Waitz, in his study on Simon Magus (*Zeitschrift f. n. Wiss.*, 1904, 2), considers that the undoubted cases in the Clementines in which Simon is an impersonation of St. Paul are but one instance among others of the kaleidoscopic changes of his

personality. It is to his mind simply a literary device. The Clementine writer is not, so he thinks, in this picture of "Simon qui et Paulus" leaving an awkward trace of an earlier Anti-Pauline romance, but is simply, as Dr. Hort puts it, making a sly hit at the Pauline party in the Church of his own day. But the invincible objection to this is, that at that later period all parties honoured St. Paul as much as St. Peter. Now, supposing that the author of our Acts had before him a work in which St. Paul was satirised in the person of a Samaritan Christian who claimed that the "Christ" dwelt in him in all his fulness, and attempted to ratify that claim by magical arts, it would be natural for him to correct that wrong impression by introducing Simon as the false teacher whom St. Paul wishes to suppress, and St. Peter as the friend of St. Paul who is present at, and relates the story of, his martyrdom. Amongst the Coptic fragments is one which represents St. Paul as one of the "Twelve Shepherds," and his teaching as what he has derived "from the Apostles". How different from the statements of the Apostle himself in Gal. i., but it harmonises very well with the motive of a writer whose object was to prove that St. Paul was at one with St. Peter and the other Apostles.

Eusebius places these Acts amongst the Antilegomena, under the heading of *νόθα*, or spurious, but ranks them with the Shepherd of Hermas, the Apocalypse of Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Didache, and even the Apocalypse of John, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. Thus they occur, as Schmidt says, in that group of five writings which were frequently bound up in one Codex with the New Testament. This of itself goes to show that they were regarded as a work of St. Paul himself. On the other hand, Eusebius regards the other four ancient apocryphal Acts (those of Andrew, John, Peter, and Thomas) as *ἄτοπα πάντη καὶ δυσσεβῆ*. But the strange thing is that the Acts of Paul appear together with these four in the Manichæan Corpus of Acts, and were recognised by the Priscillianists. And even the Coptic text was found in the same MS. as a fragment of a Gnostic and heretical Gospel. Schmidt treats this as no

proof that it circulated in heretical circles. But here most readers will probably disagree with him. The explanation may be that these Acts, like the Fourth Gospel, were accepted by Monarchian Gnostics, such as the Naassenes were, and such as Ptolemæus and Heracleon were. They were willing to accept the statements of this writer about the world being made by God only; for this visible world was really a nonentity. The Manichæans, in the Middle Ages, included such Monarchian Gnostics as well as those who believed that good and evil were eternally opposed and independent powers. These latter may be termed dualistic Gnostics. They certainly could not have accepted the Acts of Paul. The Monarchian Gnostics, again, would have been ready to accept the doctrine of the Resurrection as expressed in this work, especially if the Martyrium Petri formed part of it. For in it we read that when his friend Marcellus prepared to embalm his body, St. Peter appeared to him and said, "Marcellus, didst thou not hear the Lord say, 'Let the dead bury their dead'?". And Marcellus answered, "Yes". Then St. Peter said to him, "It is but lost labour that thou hast prepared those spices to embalm the dead".

It is true that the doctrine of these Acts is the same as that of II. Clement, ix. 1 f. "And let no one of you say that this flesh is not judged or raised." But even II. Clement takes a spiritual view of the term "flesh". Thus in ch. xiv. 3 a mystical explanation is given to the effect that our present flesh is only the antitype of a spiritual reality in heaven, "no one, therefore, who corrupts the antitype will receive the reality (*τὸ αὐθεντικόν*)".

Harnack's view that these Acts contained the Martyrium Petri seems to fit in better with Chrysostom's statement that St. Paul had induced a concubine of Nero to leave him, and this, as well as the conversion of Patroclus, led to his martyrdom. The shorter Greek Martyrium, which corresponds to the Coptic text, contains the story of Patroclus only with a preface which must have been specially written for it when, at a later time, it was separated from its original context, and when that separation was made the story of

the concubine would be almost certain to be omitted as a matter of taste. St. Chrysostom, therefore, quotes from the original Acts of Paul.

Zahn had already conjectured that this Martyrium and the apocryphal correspondence with the Corinthians must have formed part of these Acts. This is not the first occasion on which Zahn has distinguished himself by the correctness of what has turned out to be a "scientific hypothesis". One remembers his brilliant reconstruction of the Diatessaron and its subsequent verification.

But the discovery that the Acts of Paul and Thecla formed part of the larger work, the Acts of Paul, seems to have surprised everybody. The most interesting question with regard to this portion of the Acts is: Is Corssen right in believing the Latin fragment, discovered at Brescia, and published by Gebhardt, to represent an older form of text than the Coptic? Schmidt discusses this at some length in the chapter on the integrity of the text. In the Brescia fragment Thecla is represented as the wife of Thamyris, and not, as in the other texts, his betrothed. She is also described as going home with him when he comes for her, but escaping again in her eagerness to see St. Paul. Schmidt wishes to prove that this is a later development of the legend, but considering the fact that Thecla from the earliest times became the heroine of all virgins, the probabilities seem to be all the other way. But this does not invalidate the fact that substantially the Coptic text is original. Doubtless details have been altered, and amongst others the fact that Thecla was originally represented as a wife has been suppressed.

Schmidt is probably right in contending that the new setting in which these Acts of Paul and Thecla are now found once for all dissipates the notion that Thecla really existed. The fact that Tryphæna is a historical character does not prove the tale to be a true one any more than the fact that Agrippa really lived in Rome in the time of Claudius proves that the story of his relations with St. Peter is historical. But, in other respects, Schmidt appears to me to dismiss too lightly the striking facts to which Professor

Ramsay has drawn attention in regard to these Acts. Mr. Conybeare enumerates in the Preface to his Armenian text a number of ways in which the Armenian text confirmed Ramsay's position. It does not contain any reference to a Roman proconsul Castelius (Coptic "Kessilus"); it does not call Alexander a Syriarch (Coptic "Syrian"); it does not use the name Falconilla, which Ramsay shows did not come into vogue till A.D. 130; it does not contain the name Lectra, which, again, is probably an anachronism; it gives Meru, or Mero, which probably refers to Merus, a place near the Pisidian Antioch, instead of Myra (in Lycia). Now all these anachronisms are found in the Coptic, which is thereby proved a later recension of the text in these details also. Moreover the really remarkable confirmation of Ramsay's point about the road to Lystra in the Armenian text, "He stood at the crossways of the high road which ran to the city of Lystra," should surely have been referred to by Schmidt in his discussion of this point. It proves that the writer of these Acts was familiar with the fact that in St. Paul's day the new road made about a quarter of a century later did not exist. It proves that he must have either made very careful local inquiries, or have been for some other reason familiar with the locality. Now if the Acts were written as Schmidt supposes (*c.* A.D. 180), it is extremely improbable that the writer could have been so exact in his reference to a road which had been disused for more than 100 years! This improbability is considerably lessened if we take what Harnack considers the earliest possible date for these Acts, *viz.*, A.D. 120. For the change of road might in that case have been within his own memory. Harnack's reason for preferring a date subsequent to A.D. 160 is probably the fact that he attributes II. Clement, which is clearly a product of the same period as these Acts, to the Roman Bishop Soter. But Soter is only said to have sent this homily to Dionysius, and not to have written it himself. Lightfoot dated it from A.D. 120-140. But there is another very cogent reason for assigning as early a date as possible to these Acts. Hippolytus thus refers to them:

"For if we believe that when Paul was condemned to the wild beasts, the lion that was loosed upon him lay down at his feet and licked him, why should we not believe what happened in the case of Daniel?" That this is really from the Acts of Paul is clear from the statement of Nicephorus that this incident was related in the *περιόδοι Παύλου*. How could Hippolytus have believed such a story if it had only appeared a quarter of a century, or less, before he wrote? And how could Origen have so highly regarded these Acts if they had first appeared only five years before he was born?

As to the authorship of the Acts of Paul, we have the definite statement of Jerome (*De vir. ill.*, 7), "Therefore we reckon the *περιόδοι* of Paul and Thecla, and the whole fable of the baptised lion, amongst apocryphal Scriptures. For how is it that a personal companion of the Apostle, in recounting the rest of his history, should have been ignorant of this episode alone? But Tertullian also, who was not far removed from those times, relates that a certain presbyter in Asia, who was zealous (*σπουδαστὴν*) for the Apostle Paul, was convicted before John of being the author of the book, and having confessed that he had produced it out of love for St. Paul, was deposed from his office." Schmidt, following Rolffs, holds that Jerome's reference to the baptised lion is simply a misunderstanding of the text of Tertullian (*De bapt.*, 17). But in the *Zeitschrift f. d. Neut. Wissenschaft*, 1904, 2, G. Krüger shows that both Schmidt and Rolffs themselves misunderstand the passage in Tertullian, and Jerome's reference to the baptised lion still remains to be explained. It can hardly be doubted that Jerome's statement that the Acts of Paul contained such a ridiculous incident is correct. We learn from Commodian, *Carm. Apol.*, 627 f., that they contained a story of a lion speaking, and we know that the Acts of Peter contain a story of a speaking dog.

The passage quoted from Tertullian does not mention John, but it is supposed that Jerome quotes from the original Greek version of this treatise (*De bapt.*). Tertullian

himself says, "De isto plenius jam nobis in Graeco digestum est". Schmidt seems to me to go out of his way to evade this passage when he says that Jerome could not have found "John" in the Greek of Tertullian. As it turns out that Jerome is after all likely to be correct in his reference to the baptised lion, we may take it that he is also trustworthy in his reference to St. John. Even if the mention of St. John carries us back to the beginning of the second century, surely that period might still be said to be not very far distant from the time of Tertullian.

As to the relation of these Acts to the Canonical Acts, it is perhaps the wiser course to reserve one's final judgment. Dr. Schmidt prefers to regard the Acts of Paul as a wilful perversion of the narrative of St. Luke.

J. H. Wilkinson.

Politics and Religion in Ancient Israel.

An Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament. By the Rev. J. C. Todd, M.A., B.Sc., Canon of S. Saviour's Cathedral, Natal. London: Macmillan & Co., 1904. Pp. xviii. + 334. 6*s*.

An Introductory Study of Ethics.

By Warner Fite. Longmans, Green & Co., 1903. Pp. xi. + 383. 6*s*. 6*d*.

The Silesian Horseherd.

Questions of the Hour answered by F. Max Müller. Translated from the German by Oscar A. Fechter. With a Preface by J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A. Longmans, Green & Co., 1903. Pp. vii. + 220. 5*s*.

We have been trying to content ourselves with saying that whether the Old Testament narratives are true or not, they at least contain the very highest moral lessons and spiritual principles. Canon Todd, who not only as a Cambridge man and a Church dignitary in Natal, but also in his fearless frankness reminds one irresistibly of Bishop Colenso, declares that this will no longer suffice. The man in the pew will doubtless find it hard to believe that what he has before him in the so-called historical books of the Old Testament is not history but history re-written with a motive, and still less easily will he be taught to distinguish such reconstruction from fraud. But if the Bible is to remain a real book to him and a spiritual guide, he must be told the truth. And the reason is that it is only through the history of Israel that its morality and its religion can be understood. New religious or ethical truth is not self-evolved or discovered *in vacuo*, but dawns on men or is forced upon them through the circumstances of their life. In short—and this explains the title

of this book—politics and religion are but two sides of the same thing. As the author puts it in his fresh, concrete way, "Religion is a spirit in which we live our daily life, but that life must be lived whether we are religious or not. No more in ancient Israel than elsewhere can we suppose that propositions in divinity *took the place* of bread-and-butter".

What is needed therefore by way of introduction to the study of the Old Testament, and what is offered in this book, is an attempt, in the light of modern research, to trace the political history of Israel together with the development in religion which was its counterpart. Thus "the theological value of the kingship was enormous". When under Saul the league of the tribes became a nation—a unit in peace as well as in war—the political change led to larger and nobler ideas of Yahweh: "the genuine recognition that he is the god of many men, and *helps* them all in spite of their often divided interests is a notable step". The glory of Solomon, again, led men to think of God as a great king holding court in the heavenly palace. With less likelihood it is suggested that the conception of Yahweh as the god of all nations arose through the international position attained by Elisha. One of the most striking chapters is that entitled "The Synoecismus of Judah," in which it is argued that the Deuteronomic legislation was the work of the nobles in the days of Josiah. "The object of the legislation as a whole was to substitute a constitutional for an absolute monarchy. . . . Primitive Israelite was simply the way in which *Genuine* Israelite presented itself to their mind. . . . The primary intention of the Deuteronomic code is political. . . . By a most masterly political device the whole code was assigned in the first place to Moses."

It is plain from these sentences that the Canon accepts unreservedly the conclusions of modern criticism. Of course his book is only a sketch. No authorities are cited, nor is there any discussion of points still in dispute; and one would very much like to know sometimes the steps by which certain positions were reached. Writing, too, as the Canon professes to do, for lay readers who have long

looked at things in a very different way, he is at times, for instance in the matter of the kodesh harlots, unwisely flippant and impatient of old-fashioned views. But he writes out of wide knowledge. He has a distinct gift of historical insight and sympathy. And he is never dull. Of all the smaller books we have had recently on Old Testament history this is the freshest and most suggestive. It consists of twenty-eight chapters mostly brief, but it is a unity, and this is due to its architectonic idea that the history of Israel is not, as is too commonly thought, the story of an empire like that of Egypt or Assyria, but like that of Athens and of Rome the record of a city-state in the making. The first sentence of the first chapter at once arrests attention: "The Old Testament is the epos of the Fall of Jerusalem".

Mr. Warner Fite's volume is no common text-book. The author is a philosopher, but he writes almost as a man of the world. He declines to be called either a Hedonist or an Idealist. His appeal is to common-sense, his interest is in the problems that meet us in the life of to-day, his object is to give "a plain statement of the existing ethical situation". Nor could there be any better proof of the clearness of his thought than the clearness of his style. The exposition never leaves the track. It never lingers on purple patches by the wayside, or soars into the clouds. It simply goes on its way, plain, smooth and easy, and yet it is never common, and contrives to be interesting all the time. There is not a single literary allusion, but the examples are plentiful and they are perfect, for they are not made in the study but taken from real life, and though they are often fully worked out they never divert attention from the matter in hand. Another thing too that makes this book a pleasure to read is that it is a model of method. In two brief chapters of an introductory sort (pp. 1-33) Mr. Fite starts off with the statement that moral problems—he gives examples from the professional and commercial life of to-day—all involve a conflict between the ideal and the practical, between aspiration and desire,

between progress and happiness. Hence result, according as men lean to the one side or the other, two great ethical theories—Hedonism, which stands for happiness, and Idealism, which stands for progress. Then follows the main body of the book in three parts. In the first Mr. Fite explains the point of view of Hedonism and weighs it from the standpoint of common-sense (pp. 37-157). In the second he does the same for Idealism (pp. 161-284). And in the third (pp. 287-373), which is entitled "Hedonism and Idealism: the Moral Situation," he endeavours "to discover how far and in what sense there lies behind the antagonism of ethical theories a deeper basis of agreement, and to what degree we may combine them for purposes of practical guidance".

The exposition of the two theories, especially in the matter of their philosophical presuppositions—for each is simply the intellectual expression of a certain temperament, or attitude, or view of the world as a whole—is uncommonly clear and marvellously judicial. In regard to Hedonism, Mr. Fite strongly repudiates its resolving of all spiritual values into material, and while admitting that self-interest and duty coincide in the lower and middle ranges of life, contends that in the higher reaches of moral effort the Hedonistic standard fails to answer: but, though thus unsatisfactory, Hedonism has its practical value, standing as it does for a genuine and practical morality as opposed to one that is merely sentimental. Idealism on the other hand, though less clear and definite, is truer to the complex facts of human life in being more comprehensive. It insists on regarding man as a person, as an end and not merely a means, and as a self in which besides pleasure there are other ends (knowledge, for example, and beauty) that call out for realisation. But, if comprehensive, it is vague. It tells us that life has a great and high purpose, but yet cannot say clearly what that purpose is. It holds up ideals, but it ignores conditions. In an ideal world we could all afford to be idealists, absolutely sincere, absolutely honest: but the world being as it is first of all a place where we must make

a living, we cannot do business or carry on the world's work without in some degree making sacrifice of our ideals. "Idealism offers a more comprehensive conception of moral value, but fails to define its conception in concrete detail or to show its application to existing conditions: Hedonism offers a system of computation, which may be applied to existing conditions, but whose unit of value is inadequate for the computation of all the factors of the moral life" (p. 262).

What then? Mr. Fite gives his answer in the third part of his book, and it is a very interesting and ingenious one. The two theories correspond to two different aspects of the world and must, we are bound to believe, be really complementary: but to fit them completely into one another is beyond the power of minds like ours, which can be clear only if they are narrow, and when they try to be comprehensive are certain to be vague. Are we then to choose the Hedonistic clearness and act only where we can be sure of results or the idealistic comprehensiveness and aim at an ideal existence? We are to choose neither but to combine both. "Both alternatives must be used as regulative hypotheses. In the absence of an exact co-ordination we may still effect an adjustment or compromise by which we may obtain guidance from both" (p. 305). And, as is shown in a final chapter of examples, "this use of alternatives is, in fact, the method commonly used in the solution of practical problems". Hedonism stands for the real, idealism for the ideal, and the conflict at every stage is a conflict between ideals to be realised and conditions to be observed. The practical moral attitude must therefore be a constant endeavour to secure an effective adjustment between progress and happiness, something of both being sacrificed so as to secure the maximum of sustained progress. "We find ourselves in the position of the quarter-master of a steamship, who is instructed to keep his ship headed for a given point on the compass. He finds his compass constantly shifting to one side or the other, and he is constantly correcting the variation by an appropriate turn of the wheel. We face a similar situation in our moral

life. At one time we are outrunning our capacities, at another time not living up to them: and the emphasis required for correction will vary with the situation of the moment. The successful moral life will then be that in which the agent is constantly alive to his situation and in which the variations from the ideal course are kept constantly at a minimum."

Our only criticism may attach to this last sentence. We are, Mr. Fite says, to keep as near to the ideal course as possible—are, that is, to be as generous, as honest as we can. But why are we so bound? Why should we lean to the ideal rather than to comfort? Why should we seek progress at all? After all, it would seem Hedonism and Idealism cannot be put on a level. Sidgwick tried a compromise and came out a Hedonist: Mr. Fite has tried one and comes out an Idealist.

Asked one day what he should most like to turn up among the Egyptian papyri, Max Müller declared for the *Sermo Verus* of Celsus, and then finding people were puzzled, wrote an article for the *Deutsche Rundschau* (July, 1895), in which after telling who Celsus was, and showing how much light a book like his, written by a philosophical outsider, might throw on early Christian thought and especially on the doctrine of the Logos—"The bridge which led across from Greek philosophy to Christianity"—he gave a full exposition of that doctrine and claimed that, instead of being neglected as it mostly was in modern times, it ought to be brought more and more forward as being at once the nucleus of Christianity and the key of the universe. "Why then turn back to the stone age of human thinking?" he asks, having his eye on the Darwinians, who "seek to explain species, kinds, *i.e.* the Logoi, the divine ideas, as the products not of the originating Mind, but of natural selection, of environment or circumstance, of the survival of the fittest". "Why again turn nature into wood, when for thousands of years Greek philosophers and Christian thinkers have recognised her as something spiritual, as a world of eternal ideas?"

Among the many letters which this article brought to its uthor was one from a German emigrant to Pennsylvania vho signed himself by the very picturesque name of "Pfer-ebürla," a Silesian word which means "Horseherd". This etter, though somewhat familiar, was fresh and vigorous, nd as it was plainly the utterance of an honest doubter, and poke out in the name of many who were silent, the Professor ecided to answer it. Receiving no reply he published the orrespondence in a second article in the same magazine, nd as this second article produced another crop of letters nd criticisms, he expanded his answer to the Horseherd in hree articles more. The five articles were then made into little book, published in Berlin, 1899, and entitled "Das Pferdebürla," of which the present volume is a translation.

A few sentences from the Horseherd's letter (pp. 43-49) vill show where he stood, and will indicate better than nything else the contents of this interesting though by no neans important book. "Has there ever been anything in ne history of the world more humiliating to the human nderstanding than this false and lying tale of the Christian eligion? . . . Max, can you too still cling to the God-fable? . . Max, all German savants, or if you please the majority f them, still labour under the delusion that the mind is a *rius*. By no means, Max. Mind is a development, an volving phenomenon. . . . Mind is a function of living rganisms, which belongs also to a goose and a chicken."

In that inimitable style and with that wide range of nowledge of which he was master, Max Müller states the ther side. First, he shows that the world is not crazy ut rational, and as against the Darwinians—of whom he emarks that they resemble the Roman emperors "who vaited till the combat was ended and then applauded the urvival of the fittest"—contends that every species corre-ponds to a thought or logos in the Divine Mind, each ndividual springing from its own cell, so that a human ell, however like in appearance to that of an ape, could ever come from it. Secondly, he shows that, spite of the Horseherd, mind *is* a *prius*, and lays down once more his

favourite argument that the mind of man is different in kind from what we call mind in animals, because man alone can speak, that is, he alone can grasp the many in the one and frame concepts. "Mind is language and language is mind, the one the *sine quâ non* of the other, and so far no goose has yet spoken but only cackled." Lastly, he controverts the Horseherd's rash words about "this false and lying tale of the Christian religion". But unhappily this last article on "The Reasonableness of Religion" is exceedingly weak and flimsy, and reduces Christianity to a mere scrap of idealistic philosophy. The Synoptic Gospels, though veracious and without intent to deceive, are quite untrustworthy as history: the facts have passed through "the colloquial process": the miracles are simply materialised versions of spiritual changes wrought through the influence of Jesus. The only thing we can be sure of is that the life of Jesus by its holiness and moral elevation made such an impression on the first disciples that they came to believe and to insist that "Jesus in His life, conduct and death demonstrated that human nature could rise no higher than in Him, and that He *was* all and *fulfilled* all that God had comprised in the Logos 'man'." Jesus is the ideal man—that is all. But this is very much less than what we mean by Christianity, and it is much less than the Johannine doctrine of the Logos, of which at the outset our author was fain to make so much. This book indeed is only another proof that, with all his vast learning, Max Müller was far too apt to be carried away by the merely picturesque.

John Lendrum.

The Theology of the Old Testament.

By the late A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, New College, Edinburgh. Edited from the Author's Manuscripts, by S. D. F. Salmond, D.D., F.E.I.S., Principal of the United Free Church College, Aberdeen. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. 8*vo*, pp. 553. *Price* 12*s*.

How significant is the fact that this is the fifth, and probably not the last, posthumous work of the great teacher who, though by nature and habit he always loved to live in the shade, yet exercised such an immense influence over the religious life of his country. His numerous tasks were proceeding *ohne Hast, ohne Rast*, when suddenly his labour had an end.

> This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
> Dies ere he knows it.

Dr. Davidson was by no means a slow worker. There was a fierce energy latent beneath his quiet exterior. But he had the scientific conscience, and the brooding spirit of a true thinker, and he would not give the world anything but his best. We cannot but thank God that his life was prolonged till he had practically finished the work which Principal Salmond has so admirably edited. Here at length is the *magnum opus* which we had long expected, and which we began to fear we might never see. We confess to have opened it with a certain trepidation. In what state had the manuscript been left? Was the work a torso? Would it be necessary to apologise for imperfect work? Beginning to read with such questions in our mind, we are quickly reassured, and indeed beyond measure delighted, and we finish the book with the firm conviction that this is the greatest work on Old Testament Theology ever produced in Britain.

Dr. Davidson has been singularly fortunate in having his work edited by a lifelong friend, who understood all his habits of thought, and who indeed possesses many of those very qualities for which our teacher was so greatly honoured and loved. The editorial work has been done to perfection. It must have been a difficult task, probably even more laborious than the preface would lead us to suppose. But it has evidently also been a labour of love. The felicitous page-headings are an immense help to the reader; the notes on literature, the index of Scripture passages, and the index of matters are all most carefully executed. There are a few footnotes, but they do not cumber the text, and none of them are superfluous. Perhaps it might have been well to indicate by a note the passages which are almost duplicates, as for example pages 186 and 420. The only errata which we have marked are some very slight and pardonable printer's slips in the troublesome matter of Hebrew punctuation (*e.g.*, three on page 65). The editor's preface, admirably succinct and pointed, closes with words so beautiful that we cannot refrain from quoting them here. "My work," says Dr. Salmond, "is ended. During the course of it the mist has been often in my eyes. The sense of loss has been revived. A voice has spoken to me out of the past. A face which was darkened has seemed to be turned upon me again with its old light. I have felt how long art is and how short is life." Surely the old *desiderium tam cari capitis* never found more fitting or more touching expression.

To speak of Dr. Davidson's unerring and apparently instinctive insight into the meaning of Scripture is unnecessary. But it is interesting to hear him tell how such insight is to be won by the Bible student. He calls it simply "familiarity," but he admits that "the acquiring of this familiarity is not an easy thing. It takes, I might say, the labour and experience of a lifetime. For Scripture is a literary work written in the language of life, and not in that of the schools, whether of Philosophy or Theology or Science; and whatever ways of thinking and speaking men have, will appear in it. All forms of human composition that the genial, subtle,

various, calculating, enraptured human mind may employ to express itself, may be looked for in it. The ways of reaching its sense are a thousand. One must lay bare all his sensibilities, and bring himself *en rapport* with it on every side, and weigh general statements, and make the necessary deduction from a hyperbole, and calculate the moral value of a metaphor, and estimate and generalise upon sentiments which are never themselves general, but always the outcome of an intense life in very particular conditions, and even take up with his dumb heart 'the groanings that cannot be uttered'."[1]

This volume may be described as a historical critic's *defensio fidei*. It is the most important argument for supernatural religion that has been published for a long time. It is precisely the book which the Church needs at the present juncture. Dr. Davidson's conviction of the uniqueness of the religion of Israel and of the reality of revelation is evident on almost every page. After stating, in a very striking passage, what is true in the naturalistic account of the evolution of the Hebrew faith, he adds: "But this is what is false in the representation above given, that the struggle was carried on in the field of natural religion. What natural religion contributed was the idolatry. The worship of the spiritual God came from revelation."[2] And again: "The new elevation given by Moses to the idea of God cannot be regarded as anything but the result of a special revelation. God appeared to him. He did not reach a purer conception of God by study or thought. God showed Himself to him."[3]

Dr. Davidson's attitude towards Historical Criticism is frankly expressed. His whole work is, of course, based on a general acceptance, cheerful and unhesitating, of the results of this discipline. But he guards himself against dangers and extravagances. "These processes," he says, "are, in principle, quite legitimate. No other method is open. But, at the same time, a door is opened to subjective and individual judgment, and the operation is necessarily a

[1] P. 514. [2] P. 88. [3] P. 110.

precarious one. . . . The effect of the criticism referred to is to cut up the writings, particularly the prophecies, into a multitude of fragments, and to introduce the greatest uncertainty into the exegesis. I cannot help thinking that this kind of criticism has gone to extremes in recent times, and has had the effect of discrediting the criticism which is legitimate."[1]

Here are some of his dicta on controverted points, and they are all the more impressive as coming from one who was so accustomed to say "perhaps". "David was certainly a monotheist."[2] The eighteenth Psalm was "the undoubted composition of David".[3] The Decalogue "beyond doubt is Mosaic".[4] "There is no reason to deny that some elements of truth, or many elements, may have been found in the primeval Shemitic religion held by the ancestors of Abraham, or by himself before his call—fragments of a primitive knowledge of God more or less pure, generalisations more or less profound regarding God and morality, hopes and aspirations more or less exalted, like those of Job."[5] "Without committing ourselves to the opinion that the abstract conceptions of Monotheism or spirituality were in the mind of the worshippers in the patriarchal age, we can perceive that their conception of God at least did not differ greatly from those which we now have."[6]

Every reader will feel that this is a profoundly religious book. We breathe a more spiritual atmosphere than we do when we are reading Schultz's great work. The writer's intense personal interest in the problem of the being and character of God is everywhere apparent. It is never for a moment obscured by his very careful critical and exegetical work. He writes as a believer. His mind is at home in the kingdom of God, "the fellowship of men with God and with one another in love".[7] For all his scientific rigour, we feel that we might almost apply to him his own words regarding Jeremiah: "To know God . . . was enough. His teaching

[1] P. 30. [2] P. 64. [3] P. 66. [4] P. 80.
[5] P. 84. [6] P. 43. [7] P. 2.

is little else than an expression, a transcription of his own pious life, of his intimate fellowship with God." His spiritual as well as æsthetic enjoyment of the Book of the Second Isaiah is indicated by such a passage as this: "The doctrine of Jehovah is stated . . . with such religious fervour, and in a way so brilliant with all the hues of a poetical imagination, that to state the several points in that doctrine in cold and naked propositions of the mere intellect, seems to desecrate them".[1] And we are not disappointed in our expectation to find him at his best in his exposition of the book which fascinated him in his youth, and which never ceased to astonish him—the Book of Job. His last word regarding its teaching is, "This is a very profound faith".[2]

If Dr. Davidson makes some excursions into the "New Testament region, which is always so fascinating,"[3] he quickly reins himself in. But we are everywhere made to feel the forward movement and pressure towards Christ. Mechanical types of Christ are of course abjured. In their place we have the living aspirations of faith. And "in Christ these subjective hopes and demands of faith and man's heart became outward facts. In His life they passed into history."[4] "In the Old Testament, Messianic truth runs in many streams, far apart, all pursuing their own way, and regarding which one far up the stream would be unable to say that they would yet meet in the same sea."[5] The same truth, under a different figure, is expressed in the magnificent sentence, too long to quote, with which the book closes. The impression left upon one mind by the reading of this volume may be stated in the words:

> Christ is the end, for Christ is the beginning,
> Christ the beginning, for the end is Christ.

[1] P. 103. [2] P. 495. [3] P. 437. [4] P. 417. [5] P. 373.

James Strachan.

1. The Growth of the Soul.

By Amory H. Bradford, D.D. London: Andrew Melrose, 1903. Pp. xi. + 319. *Price* 5*s.*

2. The Maid of Shulam.

By Rev. Hugh Falconer, B.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904. *Cr.* 8*vo,* pp. x. + 155. *Price* 3*s.* 6*d.*

3. The Bible from the Standpoint of the Higher Criticism (Old Testament).

By Ramsden Balmforth. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd., 1904. *Crown* 8*vo,* pp. x. + 262. *Price* 3*s.* 6*d.*

4. Religion and Science.

By P. N. Waggett, M.A. (of the Society of S. John the Evangelist). London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1904. *Crown* 8*vo,* pp. xii. + 174. *Price* 2*s.* 6*d. net.*

5. "Clarion" Fallacies.

By Frank Ballard, M.A., B.D., B.Sc., etc. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904. Pp. viii. + 196. *Price* 1*s. net.*

1. Dr. Bradford is favourably known in this country as a preacher of distinction and ability, and this volume of religious essays and discourses is in keeping with his reputation. His purpose is to trace 'The Ascent of the Soul'—the title originally intended by the author—and to deal with his subject in a practical rather than a speculative manner. He is therefore "more interested in helping the ascent of the soul than in accounting for its origin". In twelve interesting and suggestive, though not specially weighty or original chapters, Dr. Bradford considers "The awakening of the Soul" to its relations and responsibility,

the progress and hindrances reached ere its "Re-awakening," and "The place of Jesus Christ" in aiding and perfecting man's spiritual development. Jesus in His Person and His teaching, it is admitted, gives a unique revelation, but His method too was practical—"not to solve problems but to improve conditions". Much that is said by the author on the practical aspects of his subject—"Nurture and Culture"—will meet with general acceptance, but his plea for "Prayers for the dead" does not strike us as particularly relevant or forcible. On this point the author seems to follow the speculative rather than the practical method chosen at the outset. Dr. Bradford writes in a modern spirit on themes of universal interest, and shows by his allusions equal familiarity with writers like Hawthorne and George Macdonald. The tone of the volume, which views the soul in the light of its growth and immortality, is that of Christian optimism, and it may be read as a whole with sympathy and spirit. The spelling of the name of Dr. George 'Matthewson,' in the text (p. 245) and index, is more than can be allowed even to an American author!

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2. Mr. Falconer has produced a charming if not a convincing volume, in defence of a part of the Old Testament "now generally neglected". His treatment of the "Song" or "Canticle" is sympathetic and scholarly, and his argument is that this book of the Bible, as being part of God's word and of divine inspiration, must be capable of an allegorical or spiritual interpretation, and of being used as a witness to Christ and a picture, in matchless language, of the soul's union with its divine Lover and Redeemer. The author states with moderation his view of the 'typical' meanings found in the poem, and while objecting to Budde's view that here is only a "collection of popular wedding songs," he candidly admits that the theory he has returned to is met by the difficulty "that there is no certain reference to the Song in Scripture" (Appendix III.). Mr. Falconer's style and sympathies are seen at their best in his treatment

(chap. iii.) of "The Song and Nature," and he may be congratulated on having produced a book that abounds in touches of healthy realism, and that may be enjoyed independently of the theory that he applies to this fascinating fragment of the Old Testament.

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3. Mr. Balmforth's volume is another of those attempts to popularise the methods and results of the "Higher Criticism". He does not write as an independent investigator but as one who has made use of the recognised scholars and authorities on the Old Testament and is in full sympathy with the particular view announced by Matthew Arnold. The fourteen chapters that make up the volume were delivered as Sunday evening discourses, and do not profess to be more than "a fair summary" of the main results arrived at by the scholars referred to. A programme of this sort may prove too dry and didactic for some classes of hearers, but if "a further series of discourses on the books of the New Testament is wanted," Mr. Balmforth hopes to supply it.

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4. This is a fresh and independent study of "Religion and Science," and of the relations that should hold between them. We think Mr. Waggett has performed a real service in providing a thoughtful and well-informed volume like this as one of the "Handbooks for the Clergy," and we regard it as the ablest and most useful of the books that we are now passing under notice. Mr. Waggett shows knowledge on a subject which comparatively few handle or are competent to discuss with sufficient care and discrimination. There is no trace of unwarranted dogmatism or assumption in his pages, and he is well aware of the complexity of his material and that scientific doctrine is often "hard to master," and that accordingly "the scale of certainty" in the mind of the student and interpreter varies greatly. The book is valuable not so much for its positive results, as for its

method of wise, patient and critical examination of the teachings of science and their bearing on religion. We take it as a merit rather than a defect of this little book "that it raises more questions than it settles". There has been too much precipitancy in opposing and no less in reconciling "religion and science". We agree with the author's statement in his sensible and suggestive Preface, "There is no need for a hurry into certitudes of modern thought; and it may be the fact that in past discussions danger arose, not from the raising of questions, but from the swift provision of answers". We have been struck by this writer's acquaintance with the scientific side of his subject and by his candid and patient "meeting of difficulties". Evidence of the careful study of Darwin is not wanting, and the author makes apt use of illustration ("The Ring and the Book," chap. x.) as well as of facts. This study of "Heredity" (chap. xi.) is full of insight and interest. The illustrative notes given on Natural Selection (App. A) and the lists of books on various branches of science (App. B) are most useful and instructive. We thank Mr. Waggett for giving what all classes of readers will find to be a wise and helpful Introduction, and for touching suggestively so many sides of a great subject. He has not ignored the facts and the claims of science while seeking to show "in fresh circumstances of thought the transcendence and the unique character of God's spiritual revelation".

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5. Mr. Ballard's popular and vigorous reply to Mr. Blatchford's assault upon Christianity is well known, and will be useful to many in this cheap and handy form. Confidence is half the battle, and Mr. Ballard knows how to use the "Clarion" both in affirmation and denial.

W. M. Rankin.

An Inquiry into the Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel.

By James Drummond, M.A., LL.D., Hon. Litt.D., Principal of Manchester College, Oxford. London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. *Demy 8vo*, pp. xiv. + 528. *Price* 10s. 6*d*.

This volume is published for the Hibbert Trustees. It is a large, handsome, well-printed book, and yet surprisingly cheap. It is an advantage that it is so moderate in price. For it is a book that will be sought by many, and it is one which will repay close study. It is written not simply with a view to practised scholars, but in the hope that it may commend itself also to younger students and to the large class of readers who may not be familiar with the course of investigation and criticism through which the Fourth Gospel has passed. All throughout it bears the marks not only of wide acquaintance with the literature of the subject, but also of independent judgment. With all his just regard for Mr. J. J. Tayler and Dr. James Martineau, and with all the natural tendency to be influenced deeply by them, Dr. Drummond holds his own way intrepidly, and has many important, but always wisely and considerately expressed criticisms to pass upon their treatment of the Johannine question.

If the reader of this remarkable book looks on to the last page he will find the conclusion to which the author comes. "On weighing the arguments for and against to the best of my power, I must give my judgment in favour of the Johannine authorship." Such a judgment is a significant one, and Principal Drummond is well entitled to form a judgment, for his book is thoroughly well informed. And that the head of Manchester College, Oxford, a Unitarian leader, should form such a judgment is a piece of information

worth proclaiming. Let it be said at once that this book, as a defence of the traditional view of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, must henceforth hold the field, and that any assailant of the Johannine authorship in future must reckon with Principal Drummond. It is indeed a special feature of interest in the book that Dr. Drummond joins issue throughout with his "two principal teachers in theology," both of whom "rejected with equal confidence the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel". Dr. Drummond disclaims having been "moved by reaction against them"; but he frankly parts company with them, because he says, "I have never been able to see the evidence with their eyes".

It is only just to Dr. Drummond to say that he separates throughout the question of authorship and that of historical character. While giving his adherence to the Johannine authorship, he expresses opinions as to the purpose with which the Fourth Gospel was written, and the question of its historic truth, which are certainly not traditional, but original. The discussion of the external evidence as to authorship is most thorough and competent. It is introduced by a sketch of the verdicts of Baur, Tayler, Keim, Davidson, Martineau as to the alleged impossibility of Johannine authorship; in which it is shown that the date of the Gospel has been shifted by the representatives of "slashing criticism" from 170 to 135, and even 100-117 A.D. In other words, the assailants have been yielding inch by inch till they have placed it within, or almost within, the compass of the life of John. "I cannot but think," he says in summing up, "that the external evidence of Johannine authorship possesses great weight, and if it stood alone would entitle the traditional view to our acceptance."

The internal evidence is then most carefully examined, and this forms perhaps the most interesting section of the book. The writer's acquaintance with Jewish customs and the topography of Palestine is confirmatory of the traditional view. And "there are other particulars which afford distinct

and independent confirmation of the traditional view, or certain parts of it, and seem quite to preclude the supposition of a late Greek authorship". The objections to the traditional view receive careful consideration, and much space is given to the recent hypothesis of Wendt, "that the speeches, together with some little historical connexion, are derived from a genuine Johannine document, and that the evangelist, who is not an apostle, made use of this, and incorporated it in his own narrative". It is shown to be unsatisfactory chiefly because the Gospel "bears the marks of a single author". Particularly good is Dr. Drummond's common-sense way of dealing with the alleged philosophical cast of the Fourth Gospel as pointing to a late Greek authorship. "The book itself points to a Palestinian Jew who in later life was brought into some sort of loose contact with current modes of thought among the Greeks." He disposes of the contention that a Boanerges could not have written the Fourth Gospel with the scorn it deserves. "Critics write as though an apostle must be as wooden as a Dutch doll, impervious to the agonies of wounded affection, blind to the lessons of history, though traced in letters of blood, and with a soul tightly locked against the Spirit of God." Dr. Martineau's arguments against the traditional view have never been more effectively dealt with and set aside; and, to our surprise, we find Dr. Drummond even giving his assent to the likelihood of the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse, certainly the first Epistle of John, having come from the same pen. It is thus a defence of the traditional view of authorship all along the line.

But Dr. Drummond is careful to separate between this question and that of the historical truth of the Fourth Gospel. Granting that the most formidable argument against the Johannine authorship has been the alleged "unhistorical character of the book," he meets the assumption that the Johannine authorship carries with it the strictly historical character of the Gospel. He takes the view that it is a biography written "with a didactic aim, that of promoting faith," and that this "theological interest" guided

John both in his selection of incidents and in the character of Christ as he depicts Him. The author, it must be admitted, has scarcely faced the point that the difficulty attendant on this view is not lessened by the conviction that one of our Lord's Apostles is the writer of the Gospel. But this view Dr. Drummond holds leaves him free to regard the speeches in the Fourth Gospel as not "strictly historical". There must have been a speculative side to the teaching of Christ, and John gives us this. "The book is religious, giving us, not a photograph, but an interpretation of the great life." Within the compass of this view Dr. Drummond finds room for treating the narrative of the raising of Lazarus as unhistorical. He is impressed with the silence of the Synoptics regarding it. Even John's account does not fall in with the probabilities of history. It was the aim of the apostle, Dr. Drummond contends, "to set forth in a vivid and picturesque form the truth that Jesus is the resurrection and the life". It is not history, but an interpretation of history which we have in many parts of the Fourth Gospel, and so far therefore he says, "I cannot help siding with those who attribute a lower historical value to the Fourth Gospel than to the synoptics".

This of course is the part of Drummond's work which may be coloured somewhat by his dogmatic prepossessions. As he frankly says, "on general grounds affecting the whole question of the miraculous," such stories as the turning of the water into wine and the raising of Lazarus present a difficulty to him. Therefore he welcomes the idea that John wrote a life of Christ which is spiritual rather than bodily in its characteristic, as became one to whom the interpretation of the Master's life grew clear on looking back. But Dr. Drummond is far away from asserting the unhistorical character of the Gospel, though admitting that there is an ideal element in it. It is the late date of "slashing criticism" and the supposed Greek authorship that go with the view that it is a merely ideal representation. To the writer of this able defence of its Johannine authorship the

Fourth Gospel is truly one of the biographies of Jesus—the one written by an apostle—and rendered by no means unreliable by the didactic aim he had in view. If we deduct the one sentence or two about the Lazarus narrative, there is not a page of the book that will not commend itself to the Church catholic, which has to thank Principal Drummond for a very signal service to the study of the Gospels.

David Purves.

1. Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments.

Von Hermann Gunkel. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1903. 8*vo*, pp. 96. *Price* 2*s. net.*

2. Virgines Subintroductae.

Ein Beitrag zu 1 *Cor.* 7. *Von H. Achelis. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs*, 1902. *Cr.* 8*vo*, pp. viii. + 73. *Price* 2*s.* 6*d. net.*

3. Die Chronologie des Lebens des Apostels Paulus.

Von Gustav Hoennicke. Leipzig: Deichert, 1903. *Cr.* 8*vo*, pp. 68. *Price M.*1.50.

. In the pamphlet before us Gunkel makes another contri-ution to Biblical studies on the lines of his book *Schöpfung nd Chaos.* He would have us lift our eyes from the criticism f documents, and turn from the endeavour to find a key to ll difficulties in the historical environment of individual vriters. For there is another method of research. Religion as a continuous history. Faith is handed down in tradition nd myth, is graven in the imagination of a people, is noulded in every country-side by the poetry, the legends, he sometimes fantastic superstitions, which are in part nherited, in part acquired by successive generations from ntercourse with the devout of other lands and other creeds. nto Christianity, as its literature shows, there has come, by vay of the Judaism in which it first took root, many an xpression and idea going back neither to Christ nor to Ioses, but to some speculation born in the enthusiastic eligions that filled Western Asia in the late and early enturies. From the history of religion, by the *religions eschichtliche* method, by the study of the mingling currents

of belief in that confused time, more may sometimes be learnt than from the narrower literary and historical criticism.

The varied nature of the religious forces at work there is apparent from the study of Gnosticism and Zoroastrianism. Babylonian influence is seen in the religion of Persia, and in Babylonian mythology Hebrew prophets perhaps found the idea of a Messiah who should come as a divine hero and bring in the age of gold. In the post-exilic apocalyptic writings there is evidently at work in Jewish religion a new influence, foreign and Gnostic, traceable to Babylonian sources. This religion of eschatological speculation, which not only believed in monotheism, the chosen nation, and the Law, but also knew Paradise and Hell and a personal immortality, the religion Sadducees rejected, Pharisees tolerated and thousands of the expectant pious in Israel professed with enthusiastic devotion, was another religion than that of the two kingdoms and the exile; it was however the soil from which Christianity sprang, and Gunkel's thesis is that through its channel Christianity was influenced by foreign, *i.e.*, Babylonian faith. In reviewing Gunkel's book Holtzmann acknowledges heartily the justice of his contention that, while the relation of Hellenic culture to the N.T. has been patiently studied, the relations of Christianity to other Eastern systems have been unduly neglected.

It is, of course, in the Apocalypse that the case for oriental influence on the N.T. is most easily made out. The seven stars suggest the seven planet-gods. The four-and-twenty elders correspond to the twenty-four Babylonian astral deities who judge the world. The four living creatures are so far different from Ezekiel's as to suggest an independent use of the same borrowed myth; what they represent are the four quarters of the heavens. In the frequent reference to light and glory Gunkel sees the influence of star-worship. The heavenly Jerusalem is a mythological description of the heavens; the precious stones are stars; the river of life is the milky way. Gunkel believes that there have been just as many failures as attempts to explain the great plagues and the heavenly wars as prophetic, or as reflecting the history of the writer's

age; he sees simply echoes of foreign mythology, with more or less forced Christian interpretations. The book with seven seals spells magic; when the lord of the book opens it despite the charm he takes his place as the new god.

In all this the creative power of the Christian imagination seems left out of account, and allowance is not made for the degree to which the writer in the Apocalypse was master of his material even where he borrowed phraseology or ideas. The symbolism of the heavenly city with its river of life, of light and glory, of the elders around the throne, may well be spontaneous and original. In other places Gunkel gives a welcome lead out of the difficulties of historical interpretation; yet even so, with the question why just these myths interested Christian writers at that time, all that is important in the historical problem comes back again. This *zeitgeschichtliche* method is hardly handled by Gunkel, and has indeed often led to confusion, but in face of the difficulties of the Apocalypse we cannot afford to throw away any of our tools.

The story of the birth of Christ has more or less close pagan parallels. That it is due to a Gentile source Gunkel thinks is proved by the horror which the Jewish mind felt (Gen. vi. 4) at the idea of intercourse between "sons of God and daughters of men". At this point Gunkel might well have stopped; for as he proceeds with the matter of the Gospel narratives and the problem becomes vital to our view of Christianity the treatment is inadequate, characterised by audacity rather than by science or imaginative sympathy. In the story of the Baptism the descending dove suggests myth; so the high mountain of the Temptation. In Greek legend and in Genesis we read of the Divinity revealing Himself in the act of farewell as Jesus does at Emmaus. At the transfiguration Peter's saying, "Let us build three tabernacles," makes us suspect a lost episode, mythological, of course. *Himmelfahrt* and *Höllenfahrt* form a neat antithesis. More seriously stated is the view of the origin of the Christian Sabbath. In Slav. Enoch we find an assertion that the eighth day is the holiest. There was, then, a circle of Jews who, under the influence of sun-worship, celebrated the

first day of the week, and as Christian recruits they transformed this festival into the day of the Lord, *i.e.*, not the sun, but Jesus. This view finds support in the fact that Sunday also became the holy day of Mithra-worship.

Gunkel's theory finds its sharpest expression with reference to Christology. "The chief elements in Christology are not derived from the historical Jesus." He belongs frankly to those who consider the Gospel of Jesus and the Christianity of Paul and John to be two distinct things, and regard Christology as an accretion, not a development. And he believes that Paul and John were influenced, not only by their Jewish and Greek learning and by the Person of Christ, but also and greatly by the myths and dreams and hopes which, originating on the plains of Chaldea, filled the religious atmosphere of the East. The world-religion is then not a religion dominated by one personality but a triumphant, all-embracing syncretism.

The light which Gunkel sees in Babylonian mythology is no mere will-o'-the wisp; yet we think that in following it he has lost his way.

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2. The curious system prevailing largely in the early Church, according to which devoted Christian unmarried women lived in terms of familiar intimacy, sometimes called spiritual marriage, with Christian men, is the subject of a pamphlet in which Achelis carefully gathers all the early references to the subject. The custom was not confined to the Christian Church; it obtained among the Gnostics and heretical sects; if the *De vita contemplativa* comes from Philo's time, as Achelis thinks, the existence of the system among Egyptian Jews is proved. Within the Church it had the sanction of men of position and unquestioned purity in every region where Christianity was found. When its danger was recognised these men were charged, not with any actual sin, but with imprudence and with giving occasion to calumnies and unjust suspicions. Those attacked often suffered much rather than break what was in many cases

a tender tie, and they defended themselves by appeals to the example of Elijah and of the disciple-circle which, Luke says, was ministered to by women.

The mildness of Cyprian's rebuke seems to show that he was dealing with no new abuse, but with a custom of old standing. That this is so is evident from the sinister charges based on this kind of companionship preferred against the Montanist Alexander and the Marcionite Apelles. The Shepherd of Hermas too shows how strange was the sense of the seemly and edifying in the primitive Church. Pagan and southern laxity of manners was not yet quite forgotten, and men had not yet realised that the law of liberty would require to dictate a new and strict conventional morality.

Although for most of the charges that were made there was never any satisfactory proof, the system led inevitably to gross abuses; and it remains an ugly blot on the fair fame of these early communities. Yet it was often the unpractical attempt of heroic visionaries to solve real difficulties. Unmarried men and widowers with families, shrinking from marriage with the new ascetic instinct, required housekeepers. Christian girls, cast out from pagan families, vowing celibacy, found themselves in need of security and protection. Rich women of Constantinople, deeming the single life the higher, yet cumbered with much of this world's gear, required stewards. The prejudice against marriage could not, in fact, alter the mutual dependence of the sexes. And who could say that in making such arrangements as seemed convenient, those who had conquered the world, the flesh, and the devil were running any risk? Some rejoiced in the peril triumphing openly, others acquiesced with slackness in what suited their comfort. And it was only by a sorry process of disillusionment that the Church came to realise that while in the flesh saints must flee temptation.

Such is Achelis' kindly yet clear-sighted judgment on this strange perversity. From its wide prevalence and the tenacity with which many clung to the practice even in the third century, and from the early references to it, Achelis deems it quite possible it is referred to in 1 Cor. vii. The interpre-

tation which has always been current has its difficulties, but is, as Achelis admits, a perfectly possible one. "Any one and his virgin" however is an odd way of referring to a father and his daughter; and ἀσχημονεῖν is a strong word to use of the well-intentioned father. He therefore applies the word ὑπέρακμος to the man, who has then fallen in love with his virgin companion, and thus he renders "If any one thinketh he behaveth himself unseemly towards his virgin, and he be hotly in love, and it comes to a 'must,' she sinneth not, let her be married". But Achelis' view leads to its own difficulty. The natural course, especially after Paul's statement in verse 9, "It is better to marry than to burn," would be for the man to marry his companion. The word γαμίζω, however, in verse 38, "give in marriage," forces Achelis to find the solution in the giving of the maid in marriage to some one else, a course presumed to be always possible. This again, though not with absolute necessity (*cf.* Heinrici), leads to the adoption of the Vulgate's reading γαμείτω instead of the better-attested γαμείτωσαν. And ἀσχημονεῖν is just the word describing the discredit a father might fear to bring on his daughter if she, contrary to custom, should remain single. Unless, therefore, a more definite case is made out for the existence of that kind of companionship in the Corinthian Church at that date, the R.V. offers a preferable translation of an obscure passage.

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3. From Hoennicke's *Chronology of Paul*, one certainly gets an idea of the extraordinary difficulty there is in fixing an exact date to any event in the life of the Apostle. There are, of course, many points at which the New Testament narrative touches profane history, but each clue, as it is taken up, breaks in the hand, and leaves one faced by probabilities only, or an indication of possible limits. Hoennicke, indeed, comes to the satisfactory conclusion that the early dates adopted by Harnack are impossible, and that the more generally accepted later chronology which has Zahn's power-

ful authority is near the truth. But all along he insists that exact results are impossible; he rebukes Zahn gently for his mention of months and days; and for himself, with regard to the leading events in Paul's career, he will do no more than indicate a period of about three years within which they must have occurred.

In particular, he differs from Harnack in regarding as unreliable the date 56 given by Eusebius for Festus' entry into office. Eusebius is often wrong, his text is corrupt, and what his sources were we do not know. Hoennicke prefers to argue from Josephus, who, in his statement that Festus' successor was in office in 62 seems to imply that he had not then been long in Palestine. And in any case, allowing the widest margin for Josephus' way of combining events in unchronological order, his references to Felix show that Festus cannot have been procurator before 59. The argument for the Eusebian date is based on the acquittal of Felix through his brother Pallas' influence; this is said to require the recall of Felix before his brother's fall, *i.e.*, before the murder of Britannicus. But this crime happened, according to Tacitus, a year too early for Harnack's theory. By the middle of 55 Pallas had lost his position. Harnack suggests an error in Tacitus, and would bring the murder of Britannicus down a year later. Hoennicke maintains that there is no evidence to show that Pallas did not recover and continue to exercise an influence on Nero, and indeed this is supported by the testimony of Dio Cassius and Pliny. Thus as late as 59, 60 or 61 Pallas was still able to secure a verdict in his brother's favour.

Hoennicke adheres to the N. Galatian theory and disputes Ramsay's view that on his last journey to Jerusalem Paul succeeded in being in time for the feast. He regards the suggested snatching of Damascus by Aretas from the Roman power as an incredible piece of folly, certain to have received condign punishment, and accepts the suggestion that the town was given him by Caligula in his rearrangement of Arabian affairs in 37. For the year 41 we have an inscription of "the first year of Malchus," so that Aretas reigned

from 37 to 40, and Paul's conversion must have happened between A.D. 34 and 37.

The most valuable part of Hoennicke's work is, the careful and thorough examination of the evidence of contemporary Latin historians. Perhaps a little more might have been done by arrangement and by tables, to guide the reader's course through the mass of intricate detail.

R. W. STEWART.

The Second Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians. Edited by A. PLUMMER, M.A., D.D., sometime Master of University College, Durham, formerly Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1903. Pp. xvi. + 264. Price 3s.

THIS volume will have a high place in the very useful series of commentaries known as "The Cambridge Greek Testament". The text adopted is that of Westcott and Hort; the spelling of the same editors is followed throughout; and there is a good Greek Index. Perhaps the most interesting thing in the whole book to the New Testament student is the change of view which appears here in Dr. Plummer's treatment of the last four chapters. Hitherto he has been known as an opponent and keen critic of the theory which takes these chapters to have been part of an earlier letter. He has now become an advocate of that theory. Naturally disinclined to make much of "speculative dissections of documents, where the arguments for disintegration are based wholly on internal evidence, and receive no support from the history of the text," he confesses that in this particular case his distrust has been overcome. He thinks now that the internal evidence is strong enough and consistent enough to convince one that these chapters must be separated from the others, and that the supposition of two mutilated texts alone meets the difficulty created by the "perplexing change of tone and tactics which suddenly takes place after the first nine chapters".

The arguments adduced in behalf of this idea that these chapters are a part, the latter part, of the severe letter referred to in 2 Cor. ii. 3, 9, vii. 8, 12, are mainly the following —the absence of any passages in our 1 Corinthians which

Paul could have regretted having written (2 Cor. vii. 8); the difficulty of believing that, in the circumstances in which we see he was placed, Paul could follow up the greetings and appeals of the earlier chapters with the biting sarcasm and stinging reproofs of the later; the inconsistencies which appear between i.-ix. and x.-xiii. in the way in which the readers are spoken of (in regard, *e.g.*, to their faith); the fact that there are passages in i.-ix. which look like direct allusions to x.-xiii. (*e.g.*, viii. 22 compared with x. 2; ii. 9 with x. 6; v. 13 with xii. 1-5, etc.); and the greater intelligibility given to the statement in x. 16 if the paragraph is taken to have been written not from Macedonia (as is the case with i.-ix.) but from Ephesus.

There is no doubt not only much ingenuity but also considerable force in these reasonings. But we still question whether there is enough in them to outweigh the fact that external evidence, as Dr. Plummer himself admits, is "wholly against any dissection of the Epistle," and the consideration that the difficulty in question arises very much from our lack of information of the actual situation—not to speak of the possibility that the severe letter is referred to in x. 10, the difficulty of adjusting the hypothesis to the plan of a double visit to Corinth, and other considerations. It is to be noticed, too, that Dr. Plummer is opposed to Hausrath, Pfleiderer, McGiffert and others who argue, again on the basis of purely internal evidence, for the excision of ch. vi. 14-vii. 1.

In the Introduction Dr. Plummer gives an able summary of the reasons for accepting the Epistle as the genuine work of Paul, a very careful analysis of the language and style, and a good account of the foundations and history of the text. The notes contain much that is valuable and suggestive. They show at every point sound judgment as well as competent scholarship. The book is one that will compare favourably in respect of solid work with some much larger commentaries that might easily be named.

S. D. F. Salmond.

Acta Mythologica Apostolorum,[1] by AGNES SMITH LEWIS, M.R.A.S., Hon. D.D., Heidelberg; LL.D. (St. Andrews); Ph.D. (Halle-Wittenberg).

The Mythological Acts of the Apostles,[2] by the same.

These two volumes form Nos. iii. and iv. of the *Horae Semiticae* series. In giving them to the scholarly public Mrs. Lewis has added another to the many services she and her sister Mrs. Gibson have rendered to the cause of sacred learning. The *Acta* themselves are transcribed from an Arabic MS. in the Convent of Deyr-es-Suriani, Egypt, as the sub-title informs us, and from MSS. in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. To these are added two legends from a Vatican MS. by Professor Ignatio Guidi, and an Appendix of Syriac Palimpsest Fragments of the Acts of Judas Thomas from *Cod. Sin. Syr.*, 30. The first volume gives the texts, printed with great care and in a very attractive form. The second volume contains translations of the *Acta* and the Palimpsest Fragments of the *Acts of Judas Thomas*.

The introduction to the second volume gives a full account of the finding of the MSS. and the measure of their completeness; the particulars of the paper, the script, the number of leaves and how they are divided, etc. The script of the Deyr-es-Suriani codex, it should be mentioned, has been pronounced by Professors Guidi, E. G. Browne and Seybold to be of the fourteenth century. The interest of the Fragments lies, as is pointed out, in the "fact that they furnish us with a text at least four hundred years earlier than any hitherto known". It is assumed that all the tales contained in Deyr-es-Suriani MS. are translated from the Coptic.

The Apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles* have been repeatedly edited—in their Greek form by Lipsius, Thilo, Tischendorf, Zahn, etc., in their Syriac version by Dr. William Wright, and in the Ethiopic by Messrs. Malan and Budge. The importance of the present volumes is in the fact that they give in comparatively full form a text of which hitherto we

[1] London: C. J. Clay & Son, 1904. 4to. Price 12s. 6d. net.
[2] London: C. J. Clay & Son, 1904. 4to. Price 6s. net.

have had only fragments. As to the history of these *Acta* Mrs. Lewis accepts Professor Guidi's account. It is to the effect that some Greek texts containing apocryphal Acts had been translated into Coptic in the fifth or sixth century; that imitations and legends which arose in Egypt were by and by added to them; that more texts were formed in the course of time in the Sahidic and Sub-Sahidic or Middle Egyptian dialects; that when Coptic became a dead language other renderings were made into Arabic, which was the tongue then generally understood in Egypt; that the Ethiopic translation was made in its turn from the Arabic; that the text now makes a systematically arranged whole; and that it has served also as a source for later works, like the *Synaxaria*, etc. As to the source of the stories contained in these Acts, they originated, according to Lipsius, mostly in heretical quarters, but in course of time got a place among "the cherished possessions of ordinary catholics; acquaintance with them being perpetually renewed, or their memory preserved in Catholic Christendom, partly by the festal homilies of eminent Fathers, and partly by religious poetry and works of sacred art". The explanation given not only by Lipsius, but by Zahn and James, is that they came from a Gnostic source in particular. But this view is controverted by Harnack and more especially by Dr. Carl Schmidt in his *Die alten Petrusakten*—an important book which has been reviewed in this Journal.[1] Dr. Schmidt denies the Gnostic origin for reasons which Mrs. Lewis summarises and apparently accepts, *e.g.*, that there is no trace in these *Acta* of the idea of a dual God, or of a difference between the God of the Old Testament and that of the New; and that no Gnostic would have represented Simon Magus as "a magician, a cheat and a malefactor". The conclusion of Dr. Schmidt is that these stories have their origin within the Catholic Church itself—"probably in the reign of Septimius Severus, about the beginning of the third century, at a time when Gnostic views, in a hazy form, were widely held, and had not yet

[1] Vol. xiii., p. 516.

taken a shape definite enough to provoke the hostility and condemnation of orthodox Church Councils".

These Acts contain much extraordinary, puerile and absurd matter. But they have their interest. They compel the most prejudiced eye to recognise how far apart the Gospels and Luke's Book of Acts stand from such writings, and how necessary it is to face the questions raised by that fact. Some of them contain allusions to customs or events which are of interest. "The Travels of John the Son of Zebedee," for example, mentions the burying of a living girl beneath the foundation stone of the bath-house of Dioscorides, and so preserves the record of a horrid custom which must once have prevailed widely among heathen nations, and of which fresh proof has been furnished by the researches of Professor Sellin at Ta'annek in Palestine and Mr. Stewart Macalister at Gezer. They also give token of certain recrudescences of Paganism here and there, as, *e.g.*, perhaps in the account of the cognomen of the doubting apostle Tauma, the twin, in "the Preaching and Martyrdom of Thomas". Whether there be any grains of real historical fact beneath the vast mass of far-fetched legend is difficult to say. It is hard to believe that there is much of that, if anything at all. We owe much, nevertheless, to the enterprise and labours of Mrs. Lewis in preparing these handsome volumes.

An Introduction to the New Testament. By ADOLF JÜLICHER, Professor of Theology at the University of Marburg. Translated by JANET PENROSE WARD, with Prefatory Note by Mrs. HUMPHREY WARD. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1904. Large 8vo, pp. xxi.+635. Price 16s.

For purposes of translation this is one of the most suitable of the many foreign books on New Testament Introduction, and the translation is very well done. Jülicher's style lends itself better than that of most German theologians to clear and attractive reproduction, and Miss Ward has used her opportunity to the best. The book reads admirably well, and it is worth the pains spent upon it. In its present form it

has the further advantage of being commended by Mrs. Humphrey Ward in fit and felicitous terms.

Jülicher's work has had a considerable circulation, and has reached a second edition in what to a German author will seem the short space of half-a-dozen years. It has qualities which make it popular. It is concise in its statements; and it is on the whole well-balanced in its judgments. It is scholarly in the best sense, and is the product of extensive reading and careful study. At times it is perhaps somewhat over-confident. At times, too, it is somewhat slow to take in the full force of evidence, especially objective evidence. But it is cautious in the main, and it is never afraid to confess uncertainty where materials for a decision are scanty. There is scarcely anything of high value that will compare with it in compactness, and yet it covers a wider field than is customary for writers on Introduction to include in their scope. For to the ordinary discussions of the origin, date, contents, etc., of the various New Testament books it adds a remarkably succinct, clear and reliable sketch of the history of the New Testament Canon, and an equally brief but lucid account of the history of the New Testament text.

Professor Jülicher's testimony to the historical worth of the Gospels will be received with interest. It is of some importance also to notice that he accepts the Epistles usually ascribed to Paul, with the exception of those to Timothy and Titus. He is less disposed, too, than many of his brethren on the Continent of Europe to spin out fanciful schemes of analysis and decomposition in the case of writings like the Apocalypse, and he has no sympathy with the extreme Dutch School. He urges certain conclusions indeed regarding the Fourth Gospel, and some of the Epistles, in which he will appear to most to misapprehend the real position. We cannot say he has made a good case, *e.g.*, for denying the authenticity of First Peter, or for ascribing a late date and imperfectly Christian character to the Epistle of James. We are of opinion, also, that in view of more recent contributions to the Johannine question it is going far beyond the mark to say that the only thing certain about

the Fourth Gospel is that it is not by John. But we do not propose to enter into any close examination of these questions in connexion with the publication of this excellent translation. It is enough to say that the volume makes an excellent hand-book, and that one of its chief merits is the estimates it forms of the various schools of criticism which have had a marked influence. This holds good especially of what is said of Baur and the Tübingen criticism.

It may be of interest to quote what is said of that school. In Professor Jülicher's judgment its "epoch-making qualities" are but poorly rendered when it is described simply as "tendency-criticism," or when it is reproached with rending the unity of the New Testament and scattering its parts over two centuries. What was great in it, he thinks, was its demand that the documents which make up the New Testament should not be regarded "each in a separate light as the accidental products of any one religious personality, but should be grouped in close connexion with the history of Christianity, as the necessary outcome of a particular phase in its development". But his conclusion is this—not only that many of the particular positions so confidently asserted by Baur must be given up or very seriously modified, but that his historical system suffers from certain great and now confessed mistakes. Above all, it made the mistake, he thinks, first of "over-valuing the importance of Judaism in the early days of Christianity, and of ascribing to Paul alone the championship of universalistic tendencies and the edification of Gentile Christian Communities; and secondly, the mistake of insisting with rigid one-sidedness that the history of primitive Christianity was dominated till far into the second century by the interest of the battle round the Law and the prerogatives of the Jews; whereas in reality this battle was only one factor among many in the formation of its history, and innumerable Christians of the first two generations not only did not understand it, but did not even know anything about it". He adds, and the remark is pertinent, that "it is not mainly from ideas and principles that a religion draws its life; the decisive influences are emotions, feelings, hopes,

and Baur's picture of the historical development of the Apostolic and Post-Apostolic ages is too logical and correct, too deficient in warmth of colour to have probability on its side".

Baur's merit, nevertheless, is great. It lies in this, that he "inaugurated a new epoch in the study of the New Testament, not only by his numerous flashes of new and unerring insight on questions of Introduction as well as of Exegesis and New Testament theology, but principally by the fact that he raised the position of this branch of study to a higher level, and did away with the subjective and detached method of investigation. Since Baur's day the literary history of the New Testament can no longer be dealt with apart from a truly historical point of view, as the products of and the witnesses to the Christian spirit of a definite age."

Much more has to be said in criticism of Baur and his school. But, so far as it goes, this is well said.

The History of Philosophy in Islam. By Dr. T. J. De Boer, University of Groningen. Translated (with the sanction of the Author) by Edward R. Jones, B.D. London: Luzac & Co., 1903. 8vo, pp. xiii. + 216. Price 7s. 6d. net.

This book, as the Preface tells us, is the "first attempt which has been made since the appearance of Munk's excellent sketch to present in connected form a History of Philosophy in Islam". Munk's *Mélanges de Philosophie juive et arabe* was published in 1859 in Paris. There is a considerable interval of time, therefore, between that publication and the present work. The latter comes with all the more freshness for that reason, and it may open the way, we trust, to further work in a strange and interesting field. Within modest limits it accomplishes much. Beginning with brief sketches of ancient Arabia and its Caliphs, of Oriental Wisdom (including Semitic Speculation, Persian Religion and Indian Wisdom), it gives a succinct outline of Greek science, and passes on to Philosophy and Arab Knowledge, the Pythagorean Philosophy, and the Faithful Brethren of

Basra, etc. The fourth chapter introduces us to the Neo-Platonic Aristotelians of the East—Kindi, Farabi, Ibn Maskawaih, Ibn Sina or Avicenna, and Ibn al-Haitham. The next two chapters deal with the outcome of philosophy in the East (in Gazali, the Epitomists, etc.), and with philosophy in the West. Here we get interesting accounts of Avempace, Abubacer and Averroes. The closing chapter is occupied with Ibn Khaldun, the Arabs and Scholasticism. The book is one of much interest. It fills a blank in our philosophical literature. It deserves the attention, not only of philosophical students, but also of theologians.

Dr. De Boer gives a very high place to the contribution made to Islam by Persian and Indian wisdom, a much higher place than can be claimed for any Semitic tradition. He thinks it probable that the dualistic religious teaching of Persia exercised an influence on theological controversy in Islam, "either directly or through the Manichaeans and other Gnostic sects"; but that a much greater influence was certainly wielded in worldly circles, by "that system which, according to tradition, came to be publicly recognised under the Sasanid Yesdegerd ii. (438/8-457), *viz.*, Zrwanism," which set up Endless Time as the paramount principle and identified it with Fate, the outermost heavenly sphere, or the movement of the heavens, so superseding the dualistic system. As to the Indian wisdom, its logical and metaphysical speculations became known to the Muslims. But they produced less effect, in Dr. De Boer's opinion, on scientific development than did the Indian Mathematics and Astrology. He adds, however, that while Oriental Wisdom, Astrology and Cosmology "delivered over to Muslim thinkers material of many kinds," the "Form, the formative principle, came to them from the Greeks," and in the third division of his first chapter he shows at some length how this was the case and what it meant. All this is done in an instructive way. The summaries of thought, the estimates of influence, and the brief historical sketches have much to interest one.

Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion. By JANE ELLEN HARRISON, Hon. D.Litt.(Durham), Hon. LL.D. (Aberd.), Fellow and Lecturer of Newnham College, Cambridge. Cambridge: University Press, 1903. Pp. xii.+680. Price 15s. net.

The special object which Miss Harrison sets before her in this important volume is "to draw attention to some neglected aspects of Greek religion". It is a book of large compass, however, as well as great learning. It introduces us to many fruitful lines of inquiry and discloses aspects of ancient Hellenic faith which are of great moment. How wide the range of the inquiry is will be seen from the brief enumeration of the subjects discussed—the Olympian and Chthonian Ritual, the Ritual of Ghosts and Sprites, the Harvest Festivals, the Women's Festivals, the Demonology of Ghosts, Sprites and Bogeys, the Making of a Goddess and of a God, Dionysos, Orpheus, the Orphic and Dionysiac Mysteries, Orphic Eschatology and Cosmogony. Under these general titles a vast number of interesting and often intricate phenomena in the history of Greek beliefs and practices are investigated. Apart from the main argument of the book, in these numerous discussions of a special kind the student has an immense wealth of information and suggestion placed at his disposal. These inquiries show a rare command of the facts of the case, and remarkable gifts of comparison and illustration. The whole treatise, too, is closely reasoned. The argument is built up step by step by strict logical use and combination of data, and considerations drawn from all relevant sources.

Miss Harrison avails herself, of course, of all that *literature* has to say on her subject. But her aim is to get behind and beneath the literature to ideas of more ancient origin, more extensive prevalence, and more popular character. For this purpose she looks to what is to be got from tradition, primitive custom, survivals of most ancient belief and usage which are discoverable in the later literature, from monuments also and from vases. The last-named articles, the multitudinous

painted vases which have happily been preserved to us, have a peculiarly high place among the various sources of information, in Miss Harrison's judgment. She makes constant use of them, and the numerous pictorial reproductions, excellent in form and suggestive in their silent witness, which are given in the volume, add greatly to the force of the argument as well as to the attractiveness of the book.

It belongs, therefore, to the method which Miss Harrison has rightly adopted that the student's attention is fixed most particularly on the *ritual* of the religion. In this lies much of the originality of her treatment of the Greek religion, and in this she has made an advance over most of her predecessors. Nowhere else has there been so consistent an appeal to the testimony of ritual. The capital fault indeed which she has to charge against most previous inquirers in the same field, and above all English scholars, is that they have made the Greek religion mainly an affair "of mythology, and moreover of mythology as seen through the medium of literature," and have neglected the more definite and equally significant testimony of ritual. It is in this direction that Miss Harrison makes her most notable contribution to the subject. Nothing could be better than her expositions of the place occupied by the great festivals of the Anthesteria, Thargelia, and Thesmophoria, the significance of the observances connected with them, and the objects they were thought to serve. Not less skilful and sagacious is her treatment of the *beings*, sprites, ghosts, and bogeys, to whom so many of the rites were addressed, and the gods of human and humane aspect which followed on these. The chapter which traces the passage from ghost to god is of peculiar interest.

The later chapters are even of greater importance. In one of these Miss Harrison deals with the Thracian origin of Dionysos, which she regards as established, the two elements co-existing in the Dionysiac religion, and the impulse which it brought to Greece—"the belief in *enthusiasm*". In another she grapples with the questions raised by the name *Orpheus*. Here she argues emphatically for the existence of

a real personality under that name, and conjectures that he came from Crete, "bringing with him, perhaps, ultimately from Egypt, a religion of a spiritual asceticism which yet included the ecstasy of the religion of Dionysus".

The volume comes to its appropriate end with an exposition of the Orphic mysteries and the Orphic doctrine, Orphism being, as Miss Harrison expresses it, "the last word of Greek religion". The significance of the mystic element in Orphism, the mission which this system of faith had in taking the primitive rites, "originally of the crudest sympathetic magic," and infusing into them a spiritual meaning, the importance of its doctrine of the possibility of complete union with the divine—these and other matters of great moment are set before us here in new aspects and in a very impressive way. There are not a few positions argued out in this masterly treatise to which exception may be taken or regarding which difficulty will be felt. That is inevitable in the case of a treatise of this comprehensive and somewhat novel character. Among other things the distinction which is drawn between the Olympian religion and the Chthonian seems to us to require qualification. It is a just and important distinction. But we are not prepared to go the length to which Miss Harrison pushes it in the sharpness of the division which she makes between the two in respect of the fundamental ideas of guilt, sacrifice, expiation and retribution. We are of opinion that much more of this is to be recognised than Miss Harrison appears to admit in that form of the Olympian religion which she recognises in the Homeric poems. Nägelsbach's scholarly book on the *Homerische Theologie* does not seem to have been in Miss Harrison's view. It is an old book now, it is true, but it is still a book to consult, and what it says on these great ideas is still worthy of consideration.

Selections from the Literature of Theism. Edited with Introductory and Explanatory Notes by ALFRED CALDECOTT, M.A. (Lond.), D.D. (Camb.), Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, King's College, London; Examiner in Historical Theology in the University of London; late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; and H. R. MACKINTOSH, M.A., D.Phil. (Edin.), Minister of Beechgrove United Free Church, Aberdeen; Translator of Ritschl on "Justification and Reconciliation". Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Pp. xiii. + 472. Price 7s. 6d. net.

The idea of this work was formed and its plan originally laid out by Professor Caldwell along with Professor William Johnston, of Cheshunt College, a frequent contributor to the pages of this Journal. By a lamentable cycling accident the latter scholar was cut off at the age of thirty-eight before the work took shape. A very competent successor was found after some time in Dr. H. R. Mackintosh, then labouring in Aberdeen, and now appointed to an important Chair in the New College, Edinburgh. The work, therefore, as we now have it is the conjoint production of two scholars, than whom none better could well be found for the purpose. Also it has been well and usefully done.

The idea of the book is a happy one—to bring together "in small compass some of the leading positions in the philosophy of religion". It has been carried out with much discernment, so that the volume, while it will address itself to all interested in the great living questions of philosophy and theology, will admirably serve the purposes of a handbook for the use of students in our Universities and Theological Colleges. The subjects dealt with in succession are the Ontological Argument, Some Points in Scholastic Theology, the Existence of God, God as Infinite Substance, Mysticism, God as Eternal Mind, Religion in the Critical Philosophy, Romanticism, God seen in the Beautiful, Religion as Sociology, Agnosticism, the Personality of God, Ethical Theism, the Teleological Argument, and Religion as Judgment of

Worth. Each of the two editors is specially responsible for certain parts of the book, Dr. Caldwell taking Anselm, Aquinas, Descartes, Spinoza, the Cambridge Platonists, Berkeley, Cousin, Comte and Janet in hand, while Dr. Mackintosh deals with Kant and Schleiermacher, Mansel, Lotze, Martineau and Ritschl. The extracts are well chosen, and they are accompanied by appropriate explanation and comment when such are required.

The volume brings us thus into contact with the characteristic thoughts of the greatest and most creative minds on the profoundest of themes. There are some remarkable exceptions, it is true. No place is found for Origen, Augustine, Abelard, Leibnitz, Fichte, Hegel, Sir William Hamilton, and others that might be named. But there must be limits to such a work, and the editors have chosen wisely on the whole. Their book is one of great value, and is certain to commend itself to many students as a welcome and reliable guide.

An Unpublished Essay of Edwards on the Trinity. With Remarks on Edwards and his Theology. By GEORGE P. FISHER, D.D., LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903. 8vo, pp. xv. + 142.

To theological students anything that comes from the mind of Jonathan Edwards must be of interest, and the veteran scholar of Yale has done an important service by giving this remarkable treatise to the public. We owe him much for this, and not less for the sketch of Edwards's life and work which he has prepared as an Introduction to the volume. He has also given us in an Appendix some important notes, dealing with that unhappy passage in Edwards's career which ended in his dismissal from his church in Northampton, the account which he left of his method of study, Augustine's statement of the Trinity as imaged forth in the human mind, and the appreciation of the great theologian's mental and moral qualities and influence given by President

Woolsey in the commemorative discourse which he delivered in 1870 at the meeting of the descendants of Edwards.

The manuscript, which is here carefully transcribed, was one of a large number of papers by Jonathan Edwards which were for a considerable time in the hands of Professor Edwards A. Park (who had projected a biography of Edwards), and on his death were transferred to Yale University for permanent custody. In the opinion of Dr. Fisher it is "decidedly the most comprehensive and complete discussion of the doctrine on all its sides that emanated from its author". It is a philosophical exposition in Edwards's well-known manner. Its substance is given thus by himself—"This I suppose to be that Blessed Trinity that we read of in the Holy Scriptures. The Father is the Deity subsisting in the Prime, unoriginated and most absolute manner. The Son is the Deity subsisting in act, or the divine essence generated by God's understanding, or having an idea of himself and subsisting on that idea. The Holy Ghost is the Deity subsisting in act, or the divine essence flowing out and breathed forth in God's infinite love and delight in himself. I believe the whole divine essence does truly and distinctly subsist both as the divine idea and divine love, and that they are properly distinct persons."

In his preliminary remarks Dr. Fisher refers to the extraordinary precocity of Edwards (to which Pascal's case is the fittest parallel), his right to rank with Berkeley and Hume as "one of the three greatest metaphysical thinkers of the English race in the eighteenth century," and the influence which he has had on prominent theologians both in England and in Scotland, including Andrew Fuller, Thomas Chalmers, and many more. He gives also an interesting sketch of his life, and a concise statement of the doctrine of the Absolute as the fundamental principle of the system. For all this, and especially for the excellent exposition and criticism of his Idealism, his notions of physical, mental and moral causes, and his necessitarian doctrine, we owe Dr. Fisher cordial thanks.

The Eschatology of Jesus, or the Kingdom Come and Coming. By Lewis A. Muirhead, B.D., Minister of St. Luke's Church, Broughty Ferry. London: Andrew Melrose, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvii. + 224. Price 6s.

This book consists of four lectures which were delivered in October, 1903, in the United Free Church College, Glasgow. It is the first fruits of the Lectureship instituted in memory of the late Professor A. B. Bruce, and it is appropriately dedicated to that distinguished teacher. The object of the Lectureship is to "promote the study of the New Testament among those who have passed through the usual theological curriculum in the Glasgow College of the United Free Church of Scotland," and it aims at the production of original contributions to New Testament learning. Mr. Muirhead has kept the intention of the foundation carefully in view and has produced a book which makes a worthy beginning of what should be a very useful series.

What Mr. Muirhead sets himself to do, as he explains it in his sub-title, is to give a "brief study of our Lord's apocalyptic language in the Synoptic Gospels". In his first lecture, therefore, he states the presuppositions of the inquiry; the things he assumes as *probable*, as *fact*, and as *morally certain*. Among the things taken at the outset as *probable*, he places the double origin hypothesis (Primitive Mark and *Logia*) that no Synoptic Gospel is necessarily later than A.D. 80, and that the Fourth Gospel, although the discourses are "rather reflective reproductions than reports and the Gospel is only of secondary worth in a study of the words of Jesus, is nevertheless uniquely valuable". Among the things taken as fact are these—that *separate* eschatological sayings in the Synoptists bear the stamp of accurate reports; that the *arrangement* of eschatological sayings is often erroneous; and that the Evangelists "misunderstand but do not intentionally misrepresent". Some of the statements made in connexion with these positions are open to question. The difficulties, *e.g.*, attaching to the interpretation of the great eschatological discourse are confessed by all. But a better

grasp of the nature of Old Testament prophecy, especially in its perspective, would have relieved Mr. Muirhead of the necessity of recognising in it so much "incoherence" as is here affirmed. He has also not a little to say about the "incoherent sequences" of the Gospel narratives, which he ascribes not to Jesus but to the Evangelists. Others before Mr. Muirhead have sought to save the honesty of the Gospel writers at the cost of their understanding. Mr. Muirhead has avoided the extremes into which some of these have fallen. Yet neither in this nor in the large use he makes of the idea that the Evangelists took serious liberties with their matter with a view to edification, is he quite satisfactory. As "moral certainty" further he assumes that in the case of our Lord ignorance was no hindrance to Messianic works, that He was not chargeable with mental inconsistency, and that there was a certain *elusiveness* as well as vividness in His sayings. Here we should be glad to get a more definite statement of the nature and the measure of the nescience attributable to Christ in the light of His own declaration and the proper limits of the case. And again, when Mr. Muirhead speaks of His ignorance as being the sign of our Lord's work by faith, it would be well to understand what is meant by this faith. If it means the Son's filial dependence on the Father and trust in Him, all is clear. But if it is applied beyond that to the range of His mental vision, it requires to be brought into harmony with the fact that it is the way of the Gospels to speak of Him not as believing simply but as *knowing*. In all these discussions, however, much is said that is both acute and true.

The second lecture deals at considerable length and with much ability with the "main features of Jewish Apocalypse considered in their affinity to the mind of Jesus". These apocalypses are described as "Tracts for Bad Times"; the attitude of the ancient mind to pseudepigraphical writing is considered; and the use of new ideas of God, the world, and life, marked by these strange compositions, is carefully explained. In the third lecture our Lord's doctrine of the consummation of the Kingdom is set forth, and lengthened

consideration is given to the question as to what He Himself thought and taught regarding the time of the Consummation. Here Mr. Muirhead has recourse to the "natural misconception of men who wrote within a generation from Jesus' death," being unwilling to believe that Jesus could have declared to the disciples that the Consummation would fall within their own time.

The concluding lecture deals with the title "Son of Man". This appears to us to be the best part of the book. It gives an admirably full and clear account of the threefold problem —whether Jesus could have used such a title in Aramaic; whether, if so, He did it as habitually as the Gospels represent; and what He meant by it. The views of Lietzmann, Wellhausen, Dalman, Weisse, Fiebig and others are carefully summarised and acutely criticised. This is a most useful chapter. Were it only for it the book would be worth obtaining. But its value extends much beyond that. In all its discussions the reader will find much to stimulate thought.

The Theology of the Reformed Church in its Fundamental Principles. By the late WILLIAM HASTIE, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. Edited by WILLIAM FULTON, B.D., B.Sc., formerly Scholar and Fellow of the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi.+283.

This volume contains the Croall Lecture for 1892. It is introduced by a brief prefatory note from Professor Flint. It is a strong and able performance, giving a vigorous defence of the Reformed theology and a closely reasoned appreciation of it as superior to the other great typical forms of theology, Catholic, Lutheran, Anglican, Arminian or Socinian. Dr. Hastie had a whole-hearted regard for the Reformed theology. He was largely acquainted with its principles, its history and its achievements. He had no doubt whatsoever as to the justice of his plea, and he puts it forward here with all the strength of profound conviction. The chief regret one has about it is that at certain points Dr. Hastie inclines to an extreme version of the doctrine in question, especially in the

article on predestination. There are statements on other subjects to which exception may well be taken. There is, for example, a very exaggerated and even confused declaration on the subject of spiritual independence. Dr. Hastie contends that the doctrine of spiritual independence, at least as it became the watchword of the men of 1843, implies the Divine right of Presbytery and even an infallible administration—an extraordinary stretch of logic which certainly would have astonished the men of 1843 themselves as it does their successors. But apart from these things the volume is one of much value and much strong sense. It is a very powerful exposition of the Protestant principle as it is stated in its most adequate form in the formularies and theology of the Calvinistic side of the Protestant Church and as applicable to present times. Alongside his main contention Dr. Hastie also says much that is to the point about the Ritschlian theology and its merits and demerits, the distinction drawn by Alexander Schweitzer between the Lutheran and Reformed Protestant principles, the Scottish Reformation, the Tractarian Movement, Schneckenburger's view of the essential identity of the Lutheran and Reformed systems, and other topics of importance. The book will not be read without dissent, especially as regards the too speculative interpretation given to the doctrines of predestination and the sovereignty of God. But it will impress most readers by its force and its strength of conviction, which everywhere make themselves felt in it.

S. D. F. Salmond.

Notices.

THE most notable article in the May-June issue of the *Methodist Review* is one by Professor Edouard König on "The Level of Prophetism in Babylonia and in Palestine". It examines the respective positions of Babylonia and Assyria toward divination and prophecy, with a critical eye on Winckler and Zimmern's edition of the *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*. Friedrich Delitzsch's statements, in particular those made in his second lecture, and Hommel's opinions on Adapa as the *Demiurge* or *Logos* are passed under review. The general conclusion is that, while no one will "decry the effort of the Babylonians in behalf of human culture," one must "protest in the name of historic reality" when men like Delitzsch exclaim, "How thoroughly homogeneous everything in *Babel and Bible* is!" and when there is "silence concerning the difference of the level of Assyrio-Babylonian prophecy".

In the *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* for April-May, 1904, we may refer specially to the opening article by Louis Maisonneuve entitled *Essai sur l'acte de foi* which contains some good thoughts, and to Pierre Batiffol's rejoinder to M. Funk on the question of the *Agape*—a paper of very considerable importance.

The recent issues of the *Homiletic Review* have had much good matter. In the third number for the year we have a large variety of Sermons and Addresses, Studies on Bible Themes, and Pastoral Helps and Hints, together with four longer papers. Professor Sayce gives a statement of "The Latest Lights on the Bible from the Euphrates Valley," dealing with the code of Khammurabi. Dr. Frank F. Ellenwood gives an account of "Indian Brahmoism," and Dr. Edmund B.

Fairfield writes on "Roman Catholicism as it is To-day". Professor James Orr also contributes a forcible paper on "Voltaire's Boast in the Light of Present Facts".

The *Expository Times* for July, besides other interesting and timely contributions, contains a very able and appreciative review of Dr. A. B. Davidson's *Theology of the Old Testament*, by Dr. John A. Selbie, a timely and welcome list of his writings by the Rev. James Strachan, a paper on "The Need of Prophets," by Prebendary Whitefoord, another by the Rev. D. Macrae Tod on "The Poetry and Wit of Jeremiah," and the first part of a new study of "St. Paul's Infirmity," by Dr. W. Menzies Alexander. In this issue, Dr. Alexander confines himself to a statement of the case, and a criticism of the theories connected with the names of Chrysostom, Calvin, Gregory the Great, Farrar, Lightfoot, Ramsay, etc. He points out very fairly the objections that apply not only to the older explanations which identify the "infirmity" with persecution, spiritual trials or bodily disease, but to the more elaborately constructed theories of ophthalmia, epilepsy and malarial fever. We have to wait till a further issue for his own hypothesis.

In the second issue of the *Journal of Theological Studies* for the year, the student will find much matter to interest him. Among the minor contributions we may refer to those on "The First Latin Christian Poet," by Dr. A. J. Mason; "Remarkable Readings in the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary," by Professor J. T. Marshall; "Jachin and Boaz," by Professor W. E. Barnes, and "Romans ix. 5 and Mark xiv. 61," by Mr. Burkitt. Dr. Barnes decides in favour of the readings *Ιαχουμ* (*Ιαχουν*) and בעל, "read as Baaz by way of euphemism to avoid the name Baal". The words, he thinks, *may* be Phoenician, and "*may* both be names or epithets of a Deity". But "until we know more," he wisely adds, "of Phoenician religion and Phoenician worship, it seems to me unsafe to go further". Dom J. Chapman commences an ingenious discussion of "The Historical Setting of the Second and Third Epistles of St. John"; Canon Sanday deals briefly but judiciously with "The Injunctions to Silence in the Gospels,"

criticising Professor Wrede in his *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*, and the position there argued that our Lord during His earthly life never put Himself forward as the Messiah, and that the whole life-like narrative which represents Him as doing so rests simply on the belief of the Early Church, the disciples after the Resurrection having read back the beliefs which they had come to entertain into the Evangelical story. Mr. Burkitt's article on "The Early Church and the Synoptic Gospels" deserves consideration. It takes up the question of the stages through which the report of our Lord's words and deeds may be understood to have passed "in the interval between the events themselves and the composition of the documents we possess or can reconstruct". He enlarges on the importance of the fact that the Gospel record "passed through a full generation of pious reflection and meditation, before it began to be written down and so fixed for all time". And he reviews the qualifications and the disqualifications of the "first three generations of Christians—roughly from 30 A.D. to 120 A.D.—to be the guardians and transmitters of the words and deeds of the Christ". The chief qualification of the Evangelists he takes to be their *ethical sensitiveness*, and he speaks fitly of the debt we owe also to the Church. He deals in especial with the case of the Second Gospel and the facts of its early history. By its inclusion in the Canon we have a document "in warp and woof far more ancient than the Churches which adopted it". He calls attention to "the fine instinct—may we not say the *inspiration?*—which prompted the inclusion of the Gospel according to St. Mark among the books of the Old Testament," and points out how this shows the Catholic Church to have been "wiser than her own writers, wiser than the heretics, wiser finally than most Biblical critics from St. Augustine to Ferdinand Christian Baur".

The second issue of the *American Journal of Theology* for 1904 contains a large number of very careful reviews of books in all departments of theology. Among these we may refer in particular to those by Mr. Kenyon (dealing with Professor C. R. Gregory's *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*), Dr. Moffatt

(on Dr. R. D. Shaw's *The Pauline Epistles*), and Professor Moncrieff (on Doumergue's *Calvin*). Among the articles there is one by the Rev. William Dewar of Winnipeg on the question "What is a Miracle?"—the point of which seems to be that, on a proper spiritual theory of the universe, "the place of the miraculous in the universe is fixed and definite," it being "the manifestation of the supernatural in the annulment of Evil". Professor Sayce gives a good account of the "Legal Code of Babylonia". And, not to mention all, Mr. Redpath sets forth at length a "New Theory as to the use of the Divine Names in the Pentateuch". Anything from the pen of Mr. Redpath deserves respectful consideration. But this particular theory of his seems somewhat fine-spun. That at least is the impression produced by the first reading. The theory is that while "the prevailing type of Hebrew Bible before the establishment of the present Textus Receptus was very like it . . . with Yahweh and Elohim used in varying proportion," there was also another type of text "of later origin . . . in which Elohim took the place of Yahweh altogether"; and further that there are traces also of a "third class of text in which both names are used together". The first of these texts is supposed to be represented by Psalm xiv.; the second by Psalm liii.; and the third by Gen. ii. 4-iii. 24. The second was prepared, Mr. Redpath thinks, for "the ordinary reader, who was saved from any risk of transgressing the law which was held to be the logical outcome of the law of Lev. xxiv. 16". This is all rather complicated. But it is claimed for this theory that it "goes to the root of the matter and endeavours to explain the actual phenomena as they occur"; and that its acceptance would lead to a "re-examination of the whole question of the composition of the Pentateuch".

We welcome the appearance of a new theological Magazine, *The Baptist Review and Expositor*,[1] a quarterly journal, edited by the Faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological

[1] Norton Hall, Louisville, Kentucky. Price 60 cents per number, $2 per annum.

Seminary. It is intended to meet what is felt to be a want in Baptist circles in North America. In its theological attitude it is to avoid the "two extremes of indifference and narrow traditionalism, sectarianism or sectionalism". It disowns the absolutely neutral policy adopted by some theological journals, but it is also to allow the expression of considerable diversity of opinion. The opening article is a very sensible one by Professor Milton G. Evans on "The Purpose and Meaning of an Educated Ministry". Dr. W. T. Whitley writes well on "Symbolism in the New Testament". Professor Frederick L. Anderson contributes a good paper on "The Virgin Birth," dealing with the question of the documents with the view of showing that the histories of the Virgin-Birth in Matthew and Luke cannot be regarded as later additions, post-apostolic in their origin; and meeting with much ability the main objections urged against that view. There are instructive papers also by President Mullins on the question "Is Jesus Christ the Author of Religious Experience?"; by Dr. E. B. Pollard on "The Burden of Habakkuk"; by Professor J. H. Farmer on "The Sermon on the Mount"; by Dr. S. H. Green on "The Twentieth Century Sunday School—its Organisation"; and by Dr. J. R. Sampey on "The Code of Hammurabi and the Laws of Moses". The contents of the opening number, therefore, are inviting. The articles are well suited to the purpose of the magazine. We wish this new enterprise much success.

We have also to notice the following publications. *Bibliographie der theologischen Literatur für das Jahr* 1902,[1] edited by Professors Krüger and Koehler, the fifth part of the very useful Sonder-Abdruck from the well-known *Jahresbericht;* an interesting and instructive study of *Music and Musical Instruments in the Old Testament*,[2] by Dr. Hugo Gressmann, of the University of Kiel, being an instalment of the very useful

[1] Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn, 1903. 8vo, pp. 321-434.

[2] *Musik und Musikinstrumente im Alten Testament.* Giessen: Ricker, 1903. 8vo, pp. 32. Price 9d.

series of *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* edited by Drs. Alfred Dieterich and Richard Wünsch; *The Gospels of the Sundays and Festivals*, vols. i. and ii.,[1] by the Rev. Cornelius J. Ryan, late Professor of Sacred Scripture and Hebrew, Holy Cross College, Clonliffe, Dublin—a running commentary on the Gospel for the use of students in the College at Clonliffe, done with much care and in an easy popular style, showing a large acquaintance with the best authorities, Protestant as well as Roman Catholic, giving the Greek and Latin texts read at Mass and the great Festivals of the Church, an English translation, parallel passages, a combined narrative, and full explanatory notes and moral reflections; *Les Psaumes*,[2] by M. B. D'Eyragues, a translation from the Hebrew into French, executed with much good taste as well as with scholarly accuracy, sometimes quite felicitous in its readings, furnished with concise explanatory notes, brief accounts of the contents and purpose of each Psalm, and with a good Introduction, of which the most interesting section is one dealing with the theology of the Psalter; *Jeremia*,[3] by Johannes Arthur, a drama in five acts, introducing, in addition to the prophet himself at the age of seventy, Baruch, Sulamith, Baruch's bride, Abigail, King Zedekiah, and others, done with some spirit and with a fair appreciation of the historical situation; *Essais de Critique et d'Histoire de Philosophie*,[4] by S. Karppe, a volume forming part of the "Bibliothèque de Philosophie contemporaine," in which we have a very readable and instructive account of the course of philosophical thought from Philo to Herder and Goethe, giving special attention to Maimonides, Averroès and Spinoza, the great ideas of the *juste milieu*, *necessity*, *monotheism* and *monism*, on all which Dr. Karppe has much that is of interest to say;

[1] Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1904. 8vo, pp. liv. + 334 and pp. 396. Price 12s. 6d. net.

[2] Paris: Lecoffre, 1904. Small cr. 8vo, pp. lxiv. + 427. Price Fr.7.50.

[3] Tubingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 75. Price M.1.50.

[4] Paris: Alcan. 8vo, pp. 224. Price Fr.3.75.

Seeking the Kingdom: a Study,[1] by Ernest Everett Day, an enlargement of a course of addresses to a mid-week Bible Class on the question what it means to be "a Christian according to the words of the Master," giving a concise, intelligent and practical summary of our Lord's teaching on The Kingdom, The Father, True Righteousness, Sin, Salvation, Repentance, Faith and Love, The New Life, Prayer, and others of the central spiritual truths expressed in the Gospels; *The Psalms of Israel*,[2] by Dean J. H. Bernard and others—a course of lectures delivered in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, by the Bishop of Derry, the Dean of St. Patrick's, Dr. H. J. Lawlor, Dr. J. H. Kennedy, Messrs. Pooler and White—popular in character, intended to help educated people to a more intelligent use of the Psalter, and giving in succinct form much that will be of interest to worshippers on such subjects as the origin, growth and history of the Book of Psalms, the place it has had in the Temple services and in the Christian Church, its ideas of the future life, and of the Messiah, the character and purpose of the Imprecatory Psalms, the Penitential Psalms, etc., a very readable volume; *Saïdische Auszüge aus dem 8. Buche der Apostolischen Konstitutionen*,[3] by Johannes Leipoldt, an instalment of the ninth volume of the new series of von Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*, dealing with the third of the three parts of the collection of *Canones Ecclesiastici*, so named by de Lagarde, which exist in Sahidic, Bohairic, Ethiopic and Arabic texts, and furnishing everything in translation, critical text and literary introduction required for understanding and valuing these *Auszüge* from the Apostolical Constitutions; *Drei georgisch erhaltenen Schriften von Hippolytus*, herausgegeben von G. Nath.

[1] New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 210. Price 6s. 6d. net.

[2] London: S. C. Brown, Langham & Co., 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. 188. Price 3s. 6d. net.

[3] Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1904. 8vo, pp. 61. Price M.2.

Bonwetch,[1] another section of the ninth volume of the new series of the well-known *Texte und Untersuchungen*, having for its subject three curious writings, "The Blessing of Jacob," "The Blessing of Moses," and "The Story of David and Goliath," contained in a manuscript of the Tiflis "Gesellschaft zur Verbreitung der Bildung unter den Grusinern" ascribed to the second half of the tenth century, and claiming to go back to Hippolytus—a laborious bit of work, reproducing the writings themselves and providing a very scholarly introduction to them, in which Dr. Bonwetch, on the ground of what he pronounces unambiguous indications furnished by their likeness to genuine writings of the same Father, the use made of the first of the three by Ambrose, and the place given to the third of them in the so-called *Tractatus* of Origen, argues strongly in favour of their acceptance as genuine works of the famous Bishop of Portus; another part of G. H. Lamers's *Zedekunde*,[2] forming the conclusion of his work and dealing ably with the social side of things; another instalment, the fourteenth part, of W. Muss-Arnolt's valuable *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*;[3] *Zur aussern und innern Mission*,[4] by P. E. Lucius, a collection of addresses and essays on various aspects of the Missionary work of the Church, by the late Professor of Church History in the University of Strassburg, containing much that deserves to be read and pondered; *Aristote et l'Université de Paris pendant le xiii^e siècle*,[5] by G. H. Luquet, forming the second part of the sixteenth volume of *Sciences Religieuses* (Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes Études), and giving a valuable sketch and estimate of the

[1] Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1904. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 98. Price 3s. 6d. net.

[2] *Materieel Deel: Sociale Gedeelte*. Groningen: Wolters, 1904. 8vo, pp. 421 + 460.

[3] Berlin: Reuther und Reichard. 4to, pp. 833-896. Price 5s. net.

[4] Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8vo, pp. 186. Price 2s.

[5] Paris: Leroux, 1904. Large 8vo, pp. v. + 34.

place and influence of the ideas and methods of Aristotle in Paris at an important period in the history of philosophical and theological thought; *St. Mark: the Revised Version edited with Introduction and Notes for the use of Schools*,[1] by Sir A. F. Hort, M.A., and Mary Dyson Hort, an excellent book judiciously adapted to the purpose in view by its clear and pointed explanations and its happily constructed Introduction.

[1] Cambridge: University Press, 1903. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xxviii. + 120. Price 1s. 6d. net.

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The First Sadducees.

From the time of Nehemiah to that of Antiochus Epiphanes the Jews appear to have enjoyed, under Persian and Greek rule, a very large, if not complete, measure of religious liberty. The observance of the law, and the practice of the ancestral rites of their religion, were not interfered with by the suzerain power. But it was inevitable that the Jewish people should be influenced, in some degree, by the subtle and pervading force of Hellenism; and inevitable, further, that that influence should be most strongly felt by the upper or governing class in the little community, the aristocratic priesthood of Jerusalem. These men, who were styled the B'ne *Z*adok, probably as the reputed descendants of the Solomonic High Priest *Z*adok, began to drift away from the old religious exclusiveness of Judaism. They were interested in Hellenic culture, and showed a disposition to adopt Hellenic customs. This tendency, as was natural, aroused the suspicion and hostility of those who were fervently loyal to the law and to the ancient religion. These were the Chasidim or Asidæans, the "pious" among the people, who contended, passively at least, against the social arrogance and religious indifference of their nominal leaders, and against every sort of Hellenic influence. Antiochus Epiphanes determined, from whatever motive, to accelerate the Hellenising process by force, and instituted a religious persecution, in which he was joined by the extreme Hellenising party among the Jews themselves. The result was the Maccabæan rising, and the achievement by the Jewish people not only of religious toleration, but of national independence. But the establishment of the Jewish State, with the Maccabæan or Hasmonæan family on its throne, as royal High Priests, was followed by the unhappy and irreconcilable opposition

of two contending parties within the state itself. The old exclusively "pious" Asidæans reappeared as the Pharisee party, still owning allegiance solely to the law, and still in opposition to their own rulers. They were opposed by the Sadducees, a priestly aristocracy devoted to the Hasmonæan house, with interests that were mainly national and political. During the two centuries which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, the internal history of the Jewish people was largely the history of the conflict between these two parties, and of the relation of each to outside forces.

In order to understand that history, it is therefore of vital importance to know who and what were the first Pharisees and the first Sadducees, and what were the precise grounds of hostility between them. That the Pharisees were simply the later representatives of the older Asidæans may be regarded as certain, and it is unnecessary to recite the reasons for the identification of the two. But who were the first Sadducees? On the answer to this question depends our whole view of the constitution and aims of the fully developed Sadducee party, of the reasons of Pharisee hostility to it, and of the relation of both parties to the theocratic idea, and to the Jewish State. It is therefore a question of first-rate importance. Two answers have been given to it. The first is that the early Sadducees were simply the descendants of the old Hellenising B'ne Zadok, their motives and interests being essentially the same as those of their fathers, only accommodated externally to suit the new Hasmonæan *régime*. The Pharisee opposition to them was based on precisely the same grounds as the Asidæan opposition to the B'ne Zadok. This is the generally received opinion. On the other hand, Wellhausen in his *Pharisäer und Sadducäer* maintained that the first Sadducees were neither more nor less than the adherents of Judas Maccabæus and his brothers, the Maccabæan or Hasmonæan party which displaced the B'ne Zadok. Their achievement was the establishment of the Jewish State, and their interests centred in it. The Pharisees opposed them because the very existence of such a state conflicted with their idea of theocracy.

In the following pages an attempt is made to expound and justify this second view, arrived at by an independent study of the ancient authorities, and confirmed by the subsequent reading of Wellhausen's admirable pamphlet.

The current opinion may be found expressed or implied in almost all the recent literature on the subject, but it may be sufficient to cite in illustration of it the standard work on the history of the whole period, Schürer's *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, which has very largely and deservedly influenced the views and statements of other writers.

Schürer's account of the origin of the two parties and the relation of the Hasmonæans to them may be briefly summarised as follows:—

There were two parties or tendencies (Richtungen) among the Jews before the Maccabæan rising—one characterised by zealous devotion to the law (the Chasidim), the other by indifference to religion and by Hellenising proclivities, which were most pronounced among the priestly nobility (the B'ne *Z*adok). The former appears later, practically unaltered, as the Pharisee party. The latter, or Sadducee party, having been taught a severe lesson by the Maccabæan movement, and having been purged of the most extreme Hellenisers, was now fain to accept the irreducible minimum of Judaism —the Mosaic Law. For the rest, its general principles remained the same. It was still the party of the priestly aristocracy with whom political and worldly interests predominated over those of religion. The Maccabæans adhered originally to neither of the two parties, or tendencies. At first, indeed, community of religious interest and enthusiasm attached them much more closely to the Pharisees than to the Sadducees. But as their aims became more political and more personal, they were drawn towards the Sadducee nobility, who must obviously (selbstverständlich) have been represented in the γερουσία of the Maccabæan period. This general tendency is exemplified in the person of John Hyrcanus. At first a follower of the Pharisees in religious matters, as political interests gradually forced religious zeal into the background, and his policy became more worldly,

he was more and more drawn towards the Sadducees. At last he openly broke with Pharisaism and unreservedly adhered to the Sadducee tendency (*G. J. V.*, 3, I., 270 f.).

In brief, the Sadducees had no principles, and the Hasmonæans, after making a fair start in alliance with the Pharisees, simply degenerated into Sadduceeism, having loved the things of this world better than the things of God. That there is any inherent improbability in such a degeneracy no one will assert. But is this view of the origin and character of the Sadducee party correct? And is it true that the Hasmonæans stood at one time much nearer to the Pharisees than to the Sadducees, and only under John Hyrcanus transferred their allegiance—or their patronage—from their old associates to the Sadducee party? The latter assertions are made explicitly—though in a rather imaginative form—by Josephus (*Antiq.*, XIII., x., 5, 6), and his statements are accepted by Schürer as substantially accurate. But the consideration of Josephus' story of Hyrcanus' change of front may be deferred. That story must be judged not only by its own internal coherence, but by its consistency with the development of the parties during the thirty years between the Maccabæan rising and the accession of John Hyrcanus. And for those thirty all-important years our principal authority is not Josephus, but the first book of Maccabees, from which a view is derived of the relation of the Hasmonæans to the two parties wholly different from that of Josephus and of Schürer. This view must first be justified by reference to its source, and Josephus' story may then profitably be compared with it.

That 1 Maccabees is the most trustworthy authority for the history of the period which it covers has been generally conceded, and Wellhausen, writing thirty years ago, was able to assume without discussion the reliability of its statements. More recently, however, its trustworthiness has been assailed from various points of view. Willrich (*Juden und Griechen*, pp. 69 ff.; *Judaica*, pp. 62-85) has thrown doubt upon the credibility of the treaties it reports with Rome and Sparta, and in general on the authenticity of the documents quoted

in it, as regards substance as well as form. Similar doubts have also been expressed by Wellhausen himself (*Israel. u. Jüd. Geschichte*, pp. 266, n. 2; 273, n. 1). On the strength of their criticism of the documents they have suggested that the book has been largely interpolated, especially in the latter half, and has survived in a kind of second enlarged edition. This criticism, if accepted, affects the trustworthiness of the book in some important details. But it does not affect the general correctness of its information as to the course of the Maccabæan wars, and the relation of the various sections of the people to one another. Indeed, one of the considerations which led Willrich to the theory of interpolation is the improbability that so intelligent and trustworthy a historian should have been guilty of what he believes to be gross inaccuracies.

Apparently more important from the point under discussion is the isolated attempt of Niese (*Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher*) to show that the first book of Maccabees is a less reliable source than the second. Niese charges the author of 1 Maccabees with a partisanship for his own country, and in especial for its ruling house, so strong as to lead to grave sins both of omission and commission. As regards some particulars—as for instance the prominence given to Simon in the dying speech of Mattathias, and the prominence of Mattathias himself—the charge may have some justification. It is also likely enough that out of the mass of details on which the two books disagree there are some on which the first is mistaken, though the patronising tone in which Niese concedes some value to it alongside of, and subordinate to, the second, is, to say the least of it, premature. But, for our purpose, the most important feature of Niese's comparison of the two books is his treatment of their apparent divergence of view as to the relation of the Maccabæans to the two parties or, more particularly, to the Asidæans. The latter are mentioned twice in 1 Maccabees, and are distinguished from the Maccabæan party on each occasion. In ii. 42 the *συναγώγη Ἀσιδαίων* joins Mattathias and his friends after they have raised the standard of revolt; and in vii. 12 ff. the

συναγώγη γραμματέων . . . οἱ Ἀσιδαῖοι voluntarily recognise Alcimus as legitimate High Priest, and dissociate themselves from the Maccabæans.

On the other hand, in 2 Macc. xiv. 6—the only occasion on which they are mentioned in this book—the Asidæans are represented by Alcimus as the disturbing element in the country, under the leadership of Judas Maccabæus. The divergence is the more pointed owing to the prominence given in 2 Maccabees to the Asidæan martyrs, concerning whose exploits the first book is silent. Wellhausen, dismissing the arbitrary suggestion that 1 Macc. vii. 13 is a gloss, considered 2 Macc. xiv. 6 to be a deliberate contradiction, in the interests of Pharisee patriotism, of the statement that the Asidæans welcomed Alcimus. Against this charge Niese assumes a wholly defensive attitude. The representation in 2 Macc. xiv. 6, he points out, is not that of the author himself, but is put into the mouth of Alcimus; and further, as the Asidæans had been for a time in alliance with the Maccabæans, the complaint of Alcimus did not altogether lack justification (*Kritik*, p. 25). Whether it is quite logical to plead in excuse for an alleged misstatement, firstly, that it is a libel put into the mouth of a godless person, and, secondly, that after all it is fairly near the truth, need not be discussed. The important thing is that, with all his strenuous advocacy of the superiority of 2 Maccabees, Niese does not venture to question the accuracy of the distinction drawn by 1 Maccabees between Asidæans and Maccabæans, and simply endeavours to show that 2 Maccabees is in harmony with it. So complete does their harmony on the point appear to him that he has the hardihood to quote the apparently conflicting passages, 1 Macc. vii. 12 ff. and 2 Macc. xiv. 6, together as uniting to prove that the Asidæans submitted to Alcimus and the Syrian authority! (*Kritik*, p. 85, n. 5). On the general divergence of tendency discernible in the two books, according to which the first may fairly be described as Sadducee, and the second as Pharisee, in sympathy, Niese has nothing to say. The author of 1 Maccabees has, according to him, been led astray by patriotic enthusiasm, and particularly by

loyalty to the Hasmonæan dynasty, but he brings no charge against him of anti-Pharisee partisanship. His assault on the trustworthiness of the book does not affect the reliability of its information as to the relation of the Hasmonæans to the two parties. In this matter, at least, 1 Maccabees has all the appearance of being consistent, impartial, and well-informed.

Its impartiality has, however, been called in question from another point of view by Montet in his *Essai sur les origines des partis saducéen et phariséen*, especially pp. 10 ff. and 167, n. 4. He finds in it anti-Hellenistic, that is, anti-Sadducee, bias displayed in the disparaging epithets it applies to those who recognised the superiority of Greek civilisation. The charge is really based on Montet's peculiar theory that the old Hellenising "Zadokite" aristocracy were stung by the measures of Antiochus Epiphanes into revolt on behalf of the religion which they officially administered. With this idea in his mind he finds the hostility of 1 Maccabees to Alcimus and his party, and to the Hellenisers generally, explicable only on the supposition of fanatical anti-Hellenistic prejudice. But, apart from other objections to Montet's theory, this view of the attitude of 1 Maccabees is clearly untenable. For the author was evidently a very enthusiastic adherent of the Hasmonæan dynasty, and no Pharisee. He clearly distinguishes the Maccabæans from the Asidæans, and records with marked satisfaction the success of the secular policy pursued by the former. He is, in Montet's phraseology, a "patriot" and not a "fanatic". That being so, what conceivable motive could he have had for persistently blackening the character of the ancestors of his own party? Montet's theory makes the author's position in regard to the two parties utterly unintelligible. He is an enthusiastic "Hasmonæan," supporting the dynasty in its entire policy, and yet he misses no opportunity of denouncing as godless the party to which, according to Montet himself, the Hasmonæans belonged! Widely as their results differ, Montet and Schürer alike make what is fundamentally the same mistake—that of identifying the Sadducees with the pre-

Maccabæan *Z*adokites. Thus they introduce into their representations of the history a confusion from which 1 Maccabees is entirely free. And it may fairly be claimed that recent criticism of 1 Maccabees has not affected its reliability in regard to the internal development and relations of the Jewish parties.

For the Maccabæan period it distinguishes three parties, assigning distinct principles and a fairly well-defined *rôle* to each. They are (1) the Asidæans; (2) the Maccabæans; (3) the godless and disloyal Hellenisers.

(1) The Asidæans are mentioned, as already stated, only twice in the book. This alone is an indication that they played a very subordinate part in the national movement. But the references, slight as they are, make their position clear, and accord well with what we know of them otherwise. They are already a fairly well-defined body, a *συναγώγη*, characterised by unreserved attachment to the law (ii. 42). They are in the closest connexion with the Scribes (vii. 12 ff.). They are a purely religious body with none but ecclesiastical interests. At first they offer only a passive resistance to the oppressor, and prefer to die rather than to defend themselves on the Sabbath (ii. 31-38). But when Mattathias and his friends determine on active resistance, they join them in defence of their religious liberty. So soon, however, as that is guaranteed to them, they withdraw from the Maccabæans, and recognise Alcimus as legitimate High Priest, taking no account of the political interests involved. The stupid brutality of Alcimus drives them back into association with the Maccabæans, or at least into acquiescence with their proceedings, as we must infer from the narrative. They appear no more on the author's pages. But the principles of the party have been indicated with sufficient precision to enable us to understand the grounds of their subsequent hostility to the Sadducees.

(2) Mattathias and his sons and their "friends" are of a very different mould. Too much stress need not be laid on the sacerdotal descent of their leaders, but it is plain that they belonged to what may be described as the priestly, as

opposed to the scribal, section. They are staunch adherents of the law. But their devotion to it inspires them to active warfare, and they will not allow themselves, like the Asidæans, to be led like sheep to the slaughter on its behalf. Their attitude is not that of patient waiting for Divine deliverance, but of manful resistance to the tyrant. As Cromwell's troops were bidden to trust God, and keep their powder dry, so the Maccabæans put their trust in God—and sharpened their swords. Their aims were political as well as religious. They wanted a free State, and not merely a free Church. Their ideal was a national, and not simply an ecclesiastical, theocracy. And in pursuit of this ideal they used every secular resource at their command. Their fortunes varied. At times they led the people to victory, and at times they were little better than a band of outlaws. But they held together through every vicissitude of fortune, and proved themselves to be the only possible rulers of the nation. Brave and skilful in arms, they won repeated victories, but were unable to withstand by force any sustained military effort on the part of Syria. Nevertheless, the astuteness of their diplomacy, and the dissensions by which the Syrian kingdom was rent, enabled them to achieve the independence of the Jewish State, and along with it a dominant position within the State itself. They welcomed the support of the Asidæans when it was given them, but the alliance between the two parties was only temporary, and their divergence of aim precluded any close or permanent union. The Asidean recognition of Alcimus marks the point of separation, not only in time, but in principle. It was precisely this difference in principle which brought Pharisees and Sadducees into sharp conflict in the following generation.

(3) Very little need be said of the third or "godless" party, but that little is of great importance. It was composed of the men, belonging mainly to the high priestly aristocracy of Jerusalem, who had welcomed Hellenistic innovations, and had been prepared to sacrifice all that was distinctive in the Jewish nationality. As the issue changed, and the inviolability of the Jewish religion was guaranteed, they continued

to fight for their own hand, in dependence on the power of Syria, against the growing influence and authority of the Hasmonæans. But whether as traitors to the law, or as selfish opponents of the rising national sentiment of the people, they are always, in the eyes of the author of 1 Maccabees, godless and lawless. And for their persistent hostility to the Hasmonæans they pay the penalty of more or less complete extermination. Reference may be made to 1 Macc. vi. 18-27; vii. 5-9, 21-25; ix. 23-31, 58, 73; x. 61; xi. 20 ff., 41; xii. 36; xv. 21. There is no trace in the book of any Hellenising party other than this gradually diminishing remnant of the old *Z*adokite nobility, and there is no trace of any kind of alliance between them and the Hasmonæans. That the extermination was quite complete need not be urged. In any case the surviving element which may have accepted the Hasmonæan *régime* was so unimportant as not in any degree to mitigate the severity of the author's reprobation of the party as a whole. And had there been a "*Z*adokite" party continuously existing with which the Hasmonæans were afterwards identified, is it possible that they should have left no trace on the pages of a Sadducee historian? Or that he should not have excepted from his sweeping condemnation of the old nobility that party among them towards which his heroes of the Hasmonæan family are said to have gradually tended, and with which they were soon identified?

With the disappearance of the old nobility, whose "legitimacy" had been overbalanced by their "godlessness," there were left at the accession of John Hyrcanus only two distinguishable and rival parties—the adherents of the law and the purely ecclesiastical theocracy, and the adherents of the State and the national-political theocracy established by the Hasmonæans. This is the representation of 1 Maccabees, and it makes the subsequent development under Hyrcanus intelligible. The name "Sadducee," assuming it to be derived from the Solomonic High Priest *Z*adok, may have been adopted by the Hasmonæans and their adherents as an assertion of legitimacy. But in view of the attitude of 1

Maccabees to the B'ne *Z*adok, it is more probable that it was at first a term of reproach conveying the insinuation that the new aristocracy was no better than the old one, now discredited and extinguished.

The important thing, however, is that the Sadducees were not the descendants, or later representatives, of the B'ne *Z*adok. Like them they were the ruling class, and therefore, in the peculiar constitution of the theocracy, in the main a priestly class. But they had a different ancestry, different interests, and different aims, and they represent a different idea of the theocracy. And it was their points of difference from the old *Z*adokites, and not their points of resemblance to them, that made the grounds of Pharisee hostility to them exactly what they were. It was not the opposition of the zealous against the lax, of strict adherence to the law against Hellenistic proclivities. It was the opposition of the ecclesiastical idea of the theocracy against the national. It has been said with truth that the exiles returned from Babylon to found, not a kingdom, but a Church. The Hasmonæans and their supporters changed the Church into a kingdom, and it was this that brought them into conflict with the Pharisees, whose interests were confined exclusively to the Church. In a sense the secular authority was a matter of indifference to the Pharisees so long as it left undisturbed the religion of the law. Under any of the empires that held sway over it, or under the half-alien rule of the Herodian house, the Jewish Church could exist uncontaminated. But a really independent Jewish State, in which the only possible head of the State was the head of the theocracy —the High Priest—immediately secularised and profaned the Church.

That is the point of the Pharisee demand that Hyrcanus should resign the High Priesthood, and content himself with the secular authority. Such a course would have disintegrated the constitution and made the State a chaos, but to that the Pharisees were wholly indifferent. On the other hand, the Sadducees—the Hasmonæan nobility—who had built up the State and made the constitution what it was,

naturally clung to it and fought for it, loyal to the dynasty which was the centre point, not only of their party, but of their principles. This fundamental divergence of principle —and only this—explains not only the external history of the two parties, but also their theoretical differences. The Pharisees are the purely religious party, with a gradually increasing moral hold on the people, a hold independent of, and surviving, all secular changes. The Sadducees are the ruling aristocracy in the State, suffering eclipse as the State loses independence, disappearing with its final disappearance. The Pharisees live for the kingdom of God, wait patiently for Divine intervention, and look forward to the resurrection of those who have died before the intervention comes. The Sadducees live for the Jewish kingdom, their interests are bound up in it and in its secular prosperity, and as they require no resurrection hope, they have no resurrection dogma. The Pharisees build up their moral authority largely on the foundation of scribal tradition, and this tradition is naturally disowned by their Sadducee opponents. These and all other differences between them were not so many several points of distinction which, taken together, made them two opposing parties. They were the results of their fundamental divergence in principle. Trace that divergence backwards, and you find its origin, as 1 Maccabees inevitably leads you to expect, in the exclusively religious ideal of the Asidæans on the one hand, and in the national hopes, interests, and activities of the Hasmonæan party on the other.

Compare with all this the largely speculative statement of Schürer, already quoted in a condensed form, according to which the Hasmonæans, having stood at first outside the two parties, but allied to the Asidæans, gradually gravitated towards the Sadducees, and finally "went over" to them. Its sole basis in the sources is the story of Josephus, of which account will be taken later. But it is open to annihilating objections.

(1) The representation of 1 Maccabees not only affords no justification for, but absolutely precludes, the idea that the Zadokite aristocracy continued to exist as an independent

party throughout the Maccabæan period, able to welcome the adhesion of the victorious Hasmonæans.

(2) Schürer treats the Hasmonæans throughout simply as one family, and totally ignores the existence and claims of their followers. The head of the family chooses to leave the Pharisaic school, and attach himself to the Sadducees, the Pharisaic ordinances are repealed, *et voilà tout!* But it is plain from the constant language of 1 Maccabees that the adherents of the Hasmonæans supplanted the old crushed and proscribed nobility. And indeed it is impossible that it should have been otherwise. For it is inconceivable that the new royal house alone was rewarded for its services to Jewish independence. With the Hasmonæans there must have risen to place and power a body of men who had stood by them in all the vicissitudes of their fortunes, who had officered their armies, and been the instruments of their diplomacy and administration. These men were the official governing class under Simon and John Hyrcanus, who, as High Priest, stood at the head of the official priesthood, surrounded by ministers and counsellors who themselves, or whose fathers, had helped to place his house at the head of the nation. A change of front on the part of the ruling house must have meant a change of government. When Salome put the Pharisees in power, she effected a revolution, which drove the Sadducees, the original adherents of the dynasty, into painful opposition. But in the imaginative anecdote of Josephus, which is accepted as substantially true by Schürer, nothing of the kind takes place. The Sadducees are not the ruling class. They are simply the representatives of a negative "tendency," hostile to Pharisaism. And the sole apparent result of Hyrcanus' change of party was likewise negative—the prohibition of the observance of certain Pharisaic rules. Such an idea is in flat contradiction to the preceding history, as related in 1 Maccabees, to the subsequent history of the opposition of the parties, and to the possibilities of the case.

(3) The current view does the gravest injustice to the men who composed the Sadducee party in its early days. The

first Sadducees, whatever faults they may have had, possessed a full share of the considerable virtues of valour and loyalty. Their very worldliness, their indifference to the religious ideals of the Pharisees, did not spring from mere selfishness, or pleasure-seeking. It was the product, in the first instance, of devotion to a worldly cause, the honourable cause of their country's independence and prosperity, and the maintenance of the dynasty which they served. It was an honest principle, and not mere aristocratic superiority to religious enthusiasm, that brought them at first into conflict with the "other worldliness" of the Pharisees. Josephus, sympathising with the opposite party, and familiar with the Sadducees only in their decay when the loss of national independence had robbed them of their true *métier*, gives a wholly misleading idea of the first members of the party. Accepting his story of Hyrcanus' change of front, Schürer represents them as simply an aristocratic coterie, bound up in their own interests, pursuing their own course under any *régime*, under Simon and Hyrcanus, as under Marelaus and Alcimus, preferred by Hyrcanus to their more middle-class, more pious, and less pliant opponents, on account of the blueness of their blood, the selfish worldliness of their aims, and their freedom from moral and religious scruples. Were these the men whose sons approached Salome with the request that if they might no longer, as heretofore, serve the Hasmonæan house with honour, they might be dismissed altogether from her court and territory?

The contempt justly felt for a party owning to such an origin, and degenerating in later days even from its originally insignificant moral and spiritual standard, may be observed in the description of the Sadducees by Thackeray, quoted with emphatic approval by Fairweather, *From the Exile to the Advent*, p. 159: "The Baptist might be in the wilderness, shouting to the poor who were listening with all their might and faith to the preacher's awful accents and denunciations of wrath, or woe, or salvation: and our friend the Sadducee would turn his sleek mule with a shrug and a smile from the crowd, and go home to the shade of his

terrace, and muse over preacher and audience, and turn to his roll of Plato, or his pleasant Greek song-book, babbling of honey and Hybla, and nymphs and fountains of love". The picture is grossly unfair. The Sadducees had faults, and grave ones. Their attempted national theocracy was a failure, and in the period of their decadence, when driven from their proper sphere of action, they make often a rather sorry impression. But they were not, especially in the earlier and greater days of the party, the despicable time-servers portrayed by Schürer in the passage cited, or the mere pleasure-lovers of Thackeray's caricature. They fought for an idea, a cause, and a dynasty; and they could with justice speak proudly to Salome of their loyalty and their services. Even at their worst the Maccabæan spirit did not wholly desert them, dormant though it might be. They fell at last with something of their old dignity, and with them disappeared the last faint hope of the Jewish State.

(4) It follows from what has preceded that the view of the origin of the Sadducee party here controverted does nothing to explain, and indeed obscures, the antithesis of the two parties, whether in political or in doctrinal controversy. The somewhat intricate story of the relation of the Sadducees to the later Hasmonæans, to Antipater and Herod, to Pompey and the Roman Government, can be understood only when the principles which governed the party have been correctly apprehended. These principles, and the national idea of the theocracy which the party represented, had their origin in the struggles and ultimate success of the early Hasmonæans. A new national, and, in no bad sense, worldly spirit was breathed into the old form of the second theocracy, and the Sadducees were simply the party of that spirit. It died out, or was killed; the State fell, and the Sadducees disappeared. The old, genuine, logical, ecclesiastical idea of the theocracy, and its representatives and exponents, the Pharisee party, alone survived. The history of the two parties, from the time of John Hyrcanus, and in a sense from the time of the Asidæan recognition of Alcimus, to the fall of Jerusalem, is the history of the political and doctrinal

conflict of these two ideas of the theocracy, and the victory of the more logical and deeper-rooted. Misunderstand the origin of the Sadducee party, ignore their spirit and their ideal, depict them as the party of mere selfish interests and the negation of principle, and you render their history and their opinions alike incoherent. This is done when they are identified, not with the Hasmonæan party, but with the alleged "Zadokite" coterie of the Maccabæan period.

What then is to be made of the story of Josephus (*Antiq.*, XIII., x., 5, 6) which appears to justify the assertion that Hyrcanus left the Pharisees and joined the Sadducee party?

Hyrcanus, we read, was a beloved disciple of the Pharisees. On one occasion he invited them to a banquet, and, looking upon them with favour, protested his desire to act always in a manner acceptable to God and to them, and asked if they saw anything in his conduct that required correction. They gratified him by ascribing every possible virtue to him. But one, Eleazar, who was of a malevolent disposition, told him that if he really wished to be righteous, he should surrender the High Priesthood, and content himself with the secular government. When asked for his reasons, he alleged that the mother of Hyrcanus had been at one time a prisoner of war. Hyrcanus was exceedingly annoyed at the allegation, which was false, and the rest of his guests also showed vexation. There was present an intimate friend of Hyrcanus, a Sadducee named Jonathan, who suggested to him to test the feelings of the Pharisees by asking them what punishment should be inflicted on Eleazar. On the question being put to them, they replied that he deserved stripes and bonds, thus illustrating their accustomed leniency in punishment. Hyrcanus, who considered that the offence merited the penalty of death, regarded them as sympathising with the offender, and forsook their party for that of the Sadducees. The Pharisaic laws were set aside, and the observance of them was declared to be a punishable offence.

While the details of this story are generally admitted to be legendary, it is claimed that it has a basis of historical fact, which is to be found in its opening and concluding

statements that Hyrcanus was at first a Pharisee, or was at least in close connexion with the Pharisees, and that he transferred his favour to their opponents, the Sadducee nobility.

Against this view a number of considerations may be urged.

(1) The story itself, apart from these opening and closing statements, does not describe a rupture between Hyrcanus and the Pharisees, but an unsuccessful attempt on the part of Hyrcanus to conciliate the Pharisees. Why a beloved disciple of the Pharisees should require to make an effort to win their favour is not apparent. The intimacy of Hyrcanus with the Sadducee Jonathan, and the readiness with which he adopts his advice, are also rather curious features of the story. These peculiarities may be dismissed as part of the legendary dressing of the incident. But it is important to notice that they point to a conception of the whole situation differing from that suggested by Josephus, and quite in line with our previous conclusions as to the origin of the parties.

(2) While Josephus certainly sympathises with the Pharisees, and throws the whole blame of the rupture between them and Hyrcanus on the indiscretion of only one of them, and still more on the malicious cunning of a Sadducee, the source from which he drew evidently distributed the responsibility quite otherwise. The incident is introduced by the statement that the good fortune of Hyrcanus provoked envy, and that the Pharisees especially were hostile to him. The same source is probably responsible for the unsympathetic reference to the Pharisees in *Antiq.*, XVII., ii., 4 (*cf.* Schürer, *G. J.*, v., 3, ii., 383, n. 1). It is evident that if the Pharisees were specially unfriendly towards Hyrcanus he cannot have been their beloved disciple, or have had any close connexion with them. Nor can this incident, following such an introduction, be intended to explain the cause of their unfriendliness. The fact that Josephus has tampered with his source inspires very little confidence in his statements.

(3) Josephus has only the haziest notion of the origin of

the parties. The looseness of the statement in *Antiq.*, XIII., v., 9, "About that time there were three sects among the Jews," shows that he had no information as to their origin, and no idea that their rivalry was due to historical causes. He has in his mind simply their condition in his own day, modified to suit his peculiar representation of them as philosophic sects. The demand that Hyrcanus should resign the High Priesthood becomes in his narrative comparatively unimportant beside the reason alleged for it, and the petty distinction between the two parties in regard to severity or leniency in punishment. This is not a mere detail. It is this ignorance of the origin of the parties, and this misconception of the real point at issue between them at that time, that makes the statement that Hyrcanus changed his party plausible at all.

(4) The motive for the statement is not far to seek. Whether a really consistent and well-informed Pharisee would have claimed for his spiritual ancestors any intimate connexion with the Maccabæan leaders may be doubtful. But 2 Maccabees, in spite of Niese's already mentioned *tour de force*, provides evidence that the claim was made. And Josephus, who united with Pharisee sympathies a patriotic enthusiasm which unfortunately affected his ingenuousness as a historian, had every motive for identifying the Maccabæan heroes with his party. The fact that in the time of Hyrcanus the Hasmonæans and their supporters were in direct opposition to the Pharisees was only to be explained by the assumption that Hyrcanus had changed his party. This story informs us, with some awkwardness certainly, of the fact of the change, and of the reasons for it.

On the strength of this legendary and inconsequent anecdote, told by an author who was certainly not impartial, who as regards the origin of the parties was clearly uninformed and unintelligent, and who was obliged in relating the alleged incident to differ transparently from his source, we are asked to ignore the other evidence, and believe that the Hasmonæans were up to the time of Hyrcanus in more or less close alliance with the Pharisees, and only then

finally deserted them for the party of religious indifference and material interests. A more precarious foundation for a view so widely held could hardly be imagined.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the source which Josephus has treated so cavalierly was responsible for this error and confusion. Stripped of the later writer's additions and contradictions the narrative is intelligible enough. The latent hostility of the Asidæans and their successors to the Hasmonæans, of which indications had already been given during the Maccabæan conflict, was openly expressed when the conflict was over, and the nation was secure under the Hasmonæan rule. Hyrcanus made an effort to conciliate the now developed Pharisee party, whose great and growing influence with the people made their opposition a source of danger. But their terms were too severe—nothing less than his own loss of power, the destruction of the new *régime*, and the abandonment of the new national ideal, by his resignation of the High Priesthood—and he declined to accept them. This is consistent with what preceded, according to 1 Maccabees, and with what followed in the reign of Alexander Jannæus and afterwards. The legendary character of the story in Josephus appears not so much in the details of the banquet as in the statement that Hyrcanus was a Pharisee, and the implication that the Sadducees were up to that time wholly independent of the Hasmonæans. On that point the evidence of 1 Maccabees is quite decisive. And it is supported rather than contradicted by what remains in the text of Josephus of the original account of the relation of Hyrcanus to the Pharisees given by his source.

Two general considerations appear to have influenced the current view of the origin of the Sadducee party. The first is the fact that the Maccabæans took up arms in the first instance in defence of their ancestral religion. This suggests an intimate connexion between them and the purely religious party. The second is that the Sadducees resembled in several respects the old *Z*adokite aristocracy. This suggests the identification of the two. What is overlooked is the

existence of a body of men loyal to their religion and ready to fight for it against overwhelming odds, but differing in outlook and in aspiration from the exclusively religious party, with interests and ideals that centred in the nation rather than in the Church. 1 Maccabees shows that the thoroughgoing supporters of the Maccabæan leaders were such men as these, and that as they gradually advanced on the road to power they extinguished and replaced the old irreligious and unpatriotic aristocracy. Their resemblance to the latter when in power was due to the contrast and opposition between them and the Pharisees, and to their unavoidable contact in the conduct of government, with foreign and especially Hellenic influences. But just as the connexion between the Maccabæans and the Asidæans was only temporary, so the resemblance of the Sadducees to the Zadokites was only superficial. They had another spirit.

The opposition of the rival parties was an opposition of contrasted principles and ideals, and these are made intelligible to us, in accordance with our best-informed source, by the Maccabæan origin of the Sadducee party. They created the independent Jewish State and fell with it. The Pharisees alone survived to dominate a dispersed people and a vassal Church.

C. H. Thomson.

The Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit. By the late Auguste Sabatier, Professor in the University of Paris, Dean of the Protestant Faculty. London: Williams & Norgate, 1904. 8vo, pp. xxxviii. + 410. Price 10s. 6d.

This posthumous publication of the distinguished French theologian is introduced by a short, appreciative memoir by Professor Jean Reville, which gives a very pleasing view of the man and his work. Madame Sabatier also contributes a touching note, in which she describes the joy with which, on the 2nd December, 1900, her husband announced that he had put the last touch to his book, and his anxiety that whatever should happen, the volume should appear. "There it lies," he said to her, turning to his desk; "you will give it to Ménégoz and Roberty, who will both willingly revise it; but *it must appear*." He had it in view to carry out a long-cherished plan for a visit to Egypt and Palestine. But it was not to be. He had been out of health for a long time, and on the 5th February, 1901, after giving his usual lecture to his students, he "returned home, literally staggering, to take to bed". And "worn out by his labours, he gently breathed away his life on 12th April, while praying, 'Our Father who art in heaven'."

The book which asks our attention to these pathetic circumstances is a sequel to the volume of 1897 entitled *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion based upon Psychology and History*. It is intended to give a review and criticism of two very different systems of theology—the theology of authority and the theology of experience, of which the former is described as "dying and destined to disappear," the latter as "taking on ever more vigorous development" and as "destined to triumph". The Roman Catholic dogma of authority is first examined, particular attention being

given to the Catholic notions of the Church, Tradition, the Episcopate, and the Papacy. Here, as one might expect, many just and suggestive observations are made. But there is a great lack of completeness in the statements made on such topics as the Baptismal Formula and the Apostolic Symbol, the genesis and development of the theory of Tradition, and the dogma of Apostolical Succession. Passing to the "Protestant Dogma of Authority," the author deals with the alleged infallibility of the Bible, reviews the progress of Biblical criticism, and gives his estimate of its results. Here again some of the most important questions, such as the position of the great Reformers with regard to the Bible and the inward witness of the Holy Spirit, receive very meagre treatment. Any one will see how inadequate the discussions of these subjects are if he compares such books as Dorner's *History of Protestant Theology* and Köstlin's *Luther's Theologie*. And the same must be said of much else in the book. Its statements are always interesting and often very quickening to thought. But they do not take us far enough into the heart of things, and in not a few instances they do not show anything like an adequate acquaintance with the sources and the literature. Take, *e.g.*, the case of the Puseyite movement. What are the books referred to as the authorities for the writer's statement on the subject? Only the *Tracts for the Times*, John Henry Newman's *Apologia*, and an article in Herzog's *Real-encyclopædie*. But an estimate of Puseyism based on so scant a list of authorities will be one of the inner consciousness rather than of historical fact.

In Book III. the author comes to his most proper subject —the Religion of the Spirit. And here he has to face at the outset such a question as this—Why has the Christian religion hitherto taken on authoritative forms? He thinks the "persistence of authoritative forms" in the case of a religion which was proclaimed to the world as a religion of the spirit, a "curious phenomenon," which certainly demands explanation. He proposes two explanations, one psychological and another historic. The former is the operation of "an innocent and natural delusion of popular

faith," which "in its first stage of development transfers the supernatural and divine character of its object to those organs by which the divine communicates itself or makes itself known". The latter is a law which is found in the history of civilisations, *viz.*, the law that the mental and social forms, ideas and customs of earlier ages long persist, and project themselves into the higher civilisation which believes itself to have gone far beyond them. That is to say, the matter is simply one of those "survivals of the past" which "nowhere are more frequent," the writer affirms, "than in the history of religions". These surely are not explanations which can be accepted as adequate by any one sufficiently acquainted with the way in which Christian dogma has arisen and been shaped.

Taking, however, the form of the religion of the Spirit to be liberty, and its contents to be the Gospel, the author has to look at the further question whether it is possible to speak of a "substantial and particular content" as belonging to the religion of the Spirit without compromising its pure spirituality. Does not *liberty* destroy the *Gospel?* And does not the *Gospel* restrain *liberty?* Here Dr. Sabatier naturally points out that this is much a matter of terms and definitions. "If the *Gospel* is understood as an exterior letter, a formula, a doctrine authoritatively imposed upon man," or if by *liberty* is meant a "state of absolute indecision and indifference," there is an obvious and complete contradiction between the two. But if the terms are taken in a different sense, if by *liberty* we mean having the law within oneself, and if by the Gospel we mean nothing else than "the incitement to a purely religious and moral act, the result of which is to bring God to dwell in the consciousness as its very principle, its peculiar energy and law," then there can be nothing more evident, he thinks, "than that the apparent antithesis between liberty and the Gospel finds a happy solution in the very notion of the Spirit".

And so he proceeds to work out his idea of the Gospel of salvation, the Person of Christ in relation to it, faith, belief and theology. The specific character of the salvation proclaimed

by Christ is "deliverance from the power of evil" or a "filial communion with God which, restored to its proper place in the heart, henceforth becomes the spring of the believer's peace and joy, the true germ of eternal life, the victory of the Spirit". But what of the Person of Christ? Is not this the sum and substance of the content of the Gospel? Here lies the real difficulty of the whole question as it is put by the author, and he recognises clearly that it is so. If it is true that Christ Himself has the central place in the Gospel, does not this bring in an exterior historical element inconsistent with the definition of Christianity as the "wholly interior and moral religion of the Spirit"? Dr. Sabatier felt the full force of this difficulty, and declared that he "nowhere found this point satisfactorily cleared up". In whatever form the orthodox doctrine of the Person of Christ has been put, and however Unitarian or rational doctrine may be expressed, he regards them both as distorting the character of the Gospel and as "outside the authentic preaching of the Master". What is his own solution? We fear it must be pronounced a very vague one—too vague to satisfy either the historic sense or the deepest of the felt needs of the man who knows what sin is. It is that we are made Christians not by the letter of the Gospel but the spirit of Christ. True enough. But what is this "Spirit of Christ"? It is the "emanation of His consciousness," and this consciousness of His enters into ours and turns the consciousness of the sinful man into that of the child of God. And Christ is mediator, but only in the sense that "we abide in Him that His filial consciousness may become our own, that His Spirit may become our spirit, and that God may dwell immediately in us as He dwelt in Him".

There are many beautiful and stimulating thoughts in this book. It is fired with a genuine passion for religion, and for a religion which is really and vitally inward. It says much that is both true and enlightening on the place of experience as applicable to the religion of Christ. But its outcome seems to us to amount practically to this—that the authority and infallibility which are denied to the Bible as well as to

the Church are transferred to the individual experience, and this, too, without any sufficient sense of the variability of experience or any proper provision for testing the reliability of the individual experience by Catholic Christian experience, by the historical sources of the religion of Christ, or by aught else. All the while, however, the author strives to bring back, in what he would have us to accept as a new and better form, much that he has removed to a distance. The Scriptures are the book that brings the word of God to us as nothing else can do, keeping "the revelation of God in the soul of man fresh and strong". The dignity of the Person of Christ is to be seen not in His metaphysical essence but in "the purely moral and religious content of His consciousness". And while the Holy Spirit is not a "metaphysical Entity," we may understand by that great term the "immanent influence of the living God".

S. D. F. Salmond.

A Dictionary of the Bible, dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including the Biblical Theology. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, M.A., D.D. Extra Volume, containing Articles, Indexes and Maps. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904. Pp. 936. Price 28s.

The great undertaking of the Messrs. Clark is brought to a worthy close by this supplementary volume. The large and difficult project has been carried on from stage to stage with eminent sagacity and success by the editor, Dr. James Hastings, and the able men associated with him. The four volumes previously published make the very best Dictionary of the Bible which the English reader can command at present, and they are likely to retain this honourable position for many a year to come. They represent the most competent, careful and sure-footed scholarship of many different lands, and give the most reliable results of inquiry and research in the case of each of the multitude of subjects with which they have to deal. They neither delude us by pre-

tentious, high-flown theorising, nor irritate us by crude and audacious assertion, but assure us by the sanity of their statements, their avoidance of critical dogmatism, and the consistency with which they keep by the plain paths of the inductive method.

The value of the Dictionary is increased in various ways by this large, additional volume. It is a volume which no one can afford to want, if he is to make the best use of the Dictionary. The Indexes alone render it indispensable. They have been prepared with great care and with a considerate regard which is rare indeed for the reader's convenience and requirements. They are admirably printed, and they are numerous and varied enough to meet all reasonable demands. They are no less than six in number, covering Authors and Articles, Subjects, Scripture texts and other references, Hebrew and Greek Terms, Illustrations and Maps. What could we need beyond these? They are so constructed, too, as to bring under the eye that consults them a summary view of what the Dictionary contains on each particular subject, and they guide the student at once to the matter of which he is in quest. They are most helpful. We know none indeed so helpful, unless it be the very elaborate index with which the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is now provided.

But there is much else in this extra volume, besides those excellent indexes, that adds to the worth of the Dictionary. There are both maps and articles which make important contributions to the materials furnished by the Dictionary for the scientific study of Scripture. There are four maps for which all readers will be grateful. They set before us the road system of Palestine, the ancient East, the chief routes of the Roman Empire, and Asia Minor about A.D. 50. They have been prepared under the supervision of Professors Buhl and Ramsay, and may be trusted to give the most accurate and complete representations of the roads, routes and countries in view which present conditions allow. The articles do not make a long list. There are but thirty-eight of them. Some of them are open to criticism in respect of their relevancy or their length. But there is not one that is without interest,

and there are several which are of great and distinct value.

Of articles which may fairly be described as having an accessory rather than an intrinsic relation to the proper purposes of a Bible Dictionary, we may mention those on such subjects as "Concordances," "Papyri" and the "Worship of Apollo". These are ably written and contain much useful matter. The names of their authors, Messrs. Redpath, Kenyon and Farnell, are a guarantee for that. But whether they are quite in place here may be questioned. Others of which much the same may be said are those by Mr. C. H. Turner on "Greek Patristic Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles," a contribution which belongs rather to the History of Interpretation; and the very interesting papers by Mr. St. John Thackeray on "Josephus"; Dr. Drummond on "Philo"; Professor Bartlet on the "Didache"; and Mr. J. Rendel Harris on the "Sibylline Oracles". Of articles of disproportionate length, that by Professor Votaw of Chicago on "The Sermon on the Mount" is perhaps the most conspicuous example. It is an article of marked ability, which well repays study. But it travels into much that is not pertinent to its proper purpose, and practically goes over again the large Synoptic question. The result is that it extends over more than forty-four solid pages, with a great deal of its matter thrown into small type. That is to say, this single topic, only one out of the many belonging to the New Testament side, covers fully a third of the amount of space occupied by the longest article in the volume—the one in which Professor Kautzsch grapples with the whole vast field of the "Religion of Israel". It might be said of the latter that it goes beyond the bounds of an article and reaches the dimensions of a book. What might not be said, therefore, of the lack of proportion in the former? It is pleasant to notice, however, that the author himself begins his elaborate investigation with a frank confession of the fact that "the message of Jesus to men contained in the Sermon on the Mount can be essentially understood, and is valid and useful, apart from the historical, literary and exegetical questions

concerning it which are now receiving so much attention, and which tend to overshadow the real significance and power of His teaching".

But passing from such criticisms we may notice some of the more outstanding articles which give its peculiar value to the volume. A foremost place among these must be given to the one just referred to—Kautzsch's long contribution of no less than 122 pages on "The Religion of Israel," with which the book closes. This is a masterly article, which bears on every page the marks of close, patient, scientific study. It starts with the position that the "strength and uniformity" of the tradition that the founding of the religion of Israel was the work of Moses, of the tribe of Levi, "leave no doubt of its correctness, however much the details of the process may be the proper subject of criticism". It reviews in a clear and able way the traces of a pre-Mosaic religion of Israel, discussing the questions of Totemism, Animism, Ancestor Worship, the worship of *Numina*, etc. It is of interest to notice the conclusions which Professor Kautzsch reaches on these topics. With regard to the first his opinion is that "while it is certainly possible that Totemism once prevailed in Israel, its prevalence cannot be proved," and he adds that "above all, we must hold that the religion of Israel as it presents itself in the Old Testament has not retained the very slightest recollection of such a state of things". This is, we are persuaded, a sane and just statement which can be scientifically made good, and which presents a remarkable and most welcome contrast to much that is written rashly and dogmatically on the subject. So with respect to Animism and Ancestor Worship, Professor Kautzsch comments on the fashion which happens to prevail at present in certain critical circles to pronounce unhesitatingly in favour of the presence of both these elements, and gives it as his own view that "while there are undoubted traces that Animism once prevailed, the alleged indications of Ancestor Worship are all exposed to more or less serious objections". Whole schemes of Hebrew religion, positive constructions of the Hebrew history, and self-confident dispositions of the

Hebrew literature, have been built up on the assumptions that Totemism and Ancestor Worship were the roots of the faith and ceremonial of Israel. It is refreshing to find the notes of suspense and protest in the declarations of one so well entitled to speak with authority as Professor Kautzsch. And so it is with his entire presentation of the religion of Israel here—in his investigations into forms of worship, rites, usages and moral conditions, as well as in the elaborate studies which he gives of the founding of the religion of Israel, its development, external and internal, from stage to stage, and its distinctive character. The permanent, intrinsic value of the Old Testament, and the power of the spiritual message of which it is the vehicle or shrine to maintain itself essentially unaffected by the assaults of literary and historical criticism directed against the documents, are brought out with convincing force in this weighty contribution.

But this article stands by no means alone. Those, for example, by Professors Buhl and Ramsay on "Roads and Travel" in the Old Testament and in the New, are the finished work of experts, packed with information and rich in suggestive matter. The articles on the great religions of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, Greece and Asia Minor, which we owe to the capable hands of Professors Wiedemann, Morris, Jastrow and W. M. Ramsay, will be generally regarded as the best we have yet got on these large, intricate and important topics. Then we have Schürer's account of the Diaspora, a very notable performance, of great and varied interest, surpassing anything hitherto written on the subject. And there are articles of a different kind which students will read with grateful appreciation. One of these is Mr. J. O. F. Murray's review of the *Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, an admirable statement, following the methods, and accepting generally the positions, of the succession of the great critics—Bentley, Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort. Here all due attention is given to the recent investigations into the Western or Bezan text. But Mr. Murray sees no reason

to anticipate that in the end these will be found to "upset the estimates formed by W. H. of the relative importance of the different groups of textual authorities, or to modify in more than a mere handful of passages the judgments which they formed on individual readings". In this we cordially agree with the writer.

Much might be said of the articles on the Agrapha by Professor Ropes, the Semites by Professor M'Curdy of Toronto, the Talmud by President Schechter of New York, the English Versions by Dr. Lupton and others. But it is unnecessary. Publishers, editor and coadjutors are to be heartily congratulated on the production of so important a volume and on the successful completion of the great task which they undertook when they issued the prospectus of a new Dictionary of the Bible.

Biographia Philosophica: A Retrospect. By ALEXANDER CAMPBELL FRASER, Fellow of the British Academy; Hon. D.C.L. (Oxford), Hon. LL.D. (Glasgow and Edinburgh), Litt. D. (Dublin); Professor (Emeritus) of Logic and Metaphysics, and formerly Gifford Lecturer on Natural Theology in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1904. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 235. Price 12s. 6d. net.

Autobiography. By ALEXANDER BAIN, LL.D., Professor of Logic and English, University of Aberdeen (with supplementary chapter). With Portraits. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1904. Pp. xi. + 449. Price 14s. net.

These two volumes are of great interest. But the interest of the one is not precisely the interest of the other. They are self-portraitures of two men, both given to philosophical studies, but in little resembling each other either in personality or in their interpretations of things. They are the records of two minds of very different types and of two careers very different in course and character. In the one we see a career of almost unbroken success; in the other we follow a career of struggle lasting half a lifetime. In the

case of Alexander Campbell Fraser good fortune seems from the beginning to dog the steps of a favourite. To him things came easily and opportunities arose almost unbidden. Even the distractions of the times ministered to his advance. The formation of the Free Church of Scotland, the generous regard of the founders of that Church, and the planting of philosophical chairs in the New College gave him a start in life such as few men enjoy, and from time to time through a long and useful career good things seemed to throw themselves into his lap. Very different was it with Alexander Bain. In his case the lot was cast adversely for long. His early life was a constant battle, stoutly maintained, with all manner of difficulties and discouragements. He was not on the popular side, and time after time appointments which might fairly have been his were denied to him for adventitious reasons. But he went on his way indomitably, and at length his reward came. He obtained an appointment to an important academic position in the University of Aberdeen which suited his talent and in which he wielded vast influence for twenty years.

If we look, then, simply at the course in which the lives of these two men ran, we must say that the story of Alexander Bain, the Aberdeen weaver's son, is more impressive by far than that of Alexander Campbell Fraser, the son of the manse. But if we look to the discovery which the two memoirs make of the two minds, we find great interest in both, but the greater interest in the latter. In the *Autobiography* we have an unadorned chronicle of events, together with a plain statement of the main points of a philosophical system and the circumstances of the various publications in which it was worked out. In the *Biographia* we have more of the internal history of a mind, and we have that told us in more artistic form and in a fashion which takes us often into the realm of fertile and suggestive ideas.

Nothing could exceed the blunt truthfulness of the *Autobiography*. Alexander Bain uses no fine pencil and attempts no embellishment of his narrative. In the plainest and most unmistakable terms he presents his life, his work, his

purposes and his ambitions, colouring nothing, but letting us see exactly what he was and what he did, never making too much of his successes, concealing none of his failures or mistakes. In point of style it is greatly inferior to the *Biographia*. But there is something extraordinarily refreshing and in some sense even uplifting in the straight way in which the writer speaks of himself and his doings. And his friend and former pupil, Professor W. L. Davidson, of the University of Aberdeen, to whom we owe the carrying of the book through the press, has kept with eminent good sense by his master's wishes. He has done his work well, and in the concise supplement appended to Dr. Bain's own chapters he brings the story down from the point at which the autobiography ends to the death of its writer and subject.

There is much in both books on which it would be pleasant to dwell. In the *Autobiography* one reads with a strange interest the early records of Alexander Bain's religious feelings and inclinations and experiences, and his judgments of the religious movements of the time. Both volumes bring us into the company of many men of distinction whose names are familiar to us. The *Biographia*, which is written in a very attractive style all through, contains much that is of interest regarding the career of its writer in the class-room, in the editor's chair, and at the literary desk. It has a very special value in its criticisms of great schools of thought, its portraitures of eminent philosophical thinkers, and still more in the account which it gives of the writer's own studies and the reflections which it makes on the philosophical ideas which held his mind from time to time. There is a certain charm in the book which is not felt in the *Autobiography*. There is much more of the fair humanities in it. It pronounces judgments on some men and movements which do not seem quite just. It is too apt to look down from a somewhat chill height on much that moved men powerfully in the years of his youth and manhood. But there are many of its pages to which we shall turn again and again. There are many fine remarks on the Theistic presupposition and the *via media* between Atheism and Pantheism, on the reason-

ableness and the measure of the belief in a future life, and on the supposed irreconcilability between free agency and scientific unity. And what is the final confession at the close of his retrospect of the thoughts of a long life-time? It is expressed in these words—"The perplexing doubts about the universe, in which I newly found myself in youth, have led to deeper faith in the immanent Divine Spirit, transforming death from a movement in the dark into a movement in Omniscient goodness; trusted when it withdraws us from this embodied life, still unable to picture what lies in the future".

S. D. F. Salmond.

1. Theologie und Religionsgeschichte.

Von D. Max Reischle. J. C. B. Mohr, 1904. *M.*1.80.

2. Die sittlichen Weisungen Jesu.

Von W. Herrmann. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1904.

3. Die Gleichnisse Jesu.

Von Heinrich Weinel. Leipzig: Teubner, 1904. *M.*1.

4. Die Philosophie der Gegenwart in Deutschland.

Von Oswald Kuelpe. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig: Teubner, 1904. *M.*1.

1. The later developments within the Ritschlian school are relieving it of the reproach, often brought against it, that by its theory of value-judgments it sought a refuge from the discussion of the wider problems of general thought in relation to Christian truth. Reischle, who has given to the theory of value-judgments itself a treatment more satisfactory than it has received from any other writer, recognises fully the obligation of Christian theology to face all the questions which modern science or criticism is raising. In the course of five lectures, forming this volume, he considers the significance for Christian theology of the current demand for a "religious-historical method" (religionsgeschichtliche Methode). In the first division of his book he defines the meaning of this demand, explains how it has arisen, and shows the problem for theology which it involves. In the second division he describes the relation of this method in its practical and its theoretical aspect to historical theology. In the third division he considers how systematic theology in its two branches—apologetics, and dogmatics and ethics—is affected by it. At each stage of the discussion he sums up in a thesis In his *first* thesis he distinguishes a particular

and a general meaning in the demand. The former involves that the Hebrew and the Christian religions are to be examined and expounded in relation to their religious environment, and to be derived as far as possible from personal religious life; the latter implies that even Christianity as a member in the body of universal religious history is to be treated by a strictly historical method, subjected to the principles of criticism, analogy, and connexion of all historical phenomena. In his second thesis he explains the emergence of this demand by the contemporary scientific tendencies in the history of religion, in linguistic studies, and historical knowledge as well as by the general change of mental attitude which now prevails. He also admits that this demand is a reaction against the one-sidedness of the Ritschlian theology. In his third thesis he indicates the double problem for theology which results from this demand. It is affected not only in its practical method, but there is also forced on it the theoretical question, whether with its presuppositions of faith and its intention to serve the Church, it can be justified from this new standpoint. Historical no less than systematic theology is thus affected. In thesis four he fully recognises the legitimacy of this religious-historical method in historical theology, but insists on the general peril of overestimating novelty of view, and the special dangers of explaining all by development, of assuming that all resemblances involve causal dependences, of exaggerating the significance of the crude elementary factors in the process, of assigning greater value to the forms than to the contents of religious life. He indicates the limitations of the method especially in dealing with the personal religious life of the great religious personalities. The fifth thesis affirms that the religious-historical method does not exclude the theological treatment which is distinguished, not by other means and rules of inquiry, but by its distinctive interest in the subject to be treated, which is regarded in its significance for the Christian and Church life of the present, by the application of a clearly defined Christian standard to determine its value, and by the subordination of the historical datum to a Christian

value-judgment, which cannot be advanced as a necessary result of the scientific historical investigation. The sixth thesis may be given entirely in the author's own words. "The use of the religious-historical method not only demands a *systematic philosophical consideration*, that is, a searching *epistemological* reflexion on the nature, aim and limits of historical knowledge, as also a *religious-philosophical* inquiry into the psychical functions, the historical development, and the essential significance for man of religion, but it also demands the investigations of *systematic theology*, the *apologetic* regarding the basis of the truth of Christianity, and the *dogmatic-ethical* regarding the right contents of the Christian view of faith and life."

Thesis seven defines the task of Christian apologetics. While it may concern itself with, it must not confine itself to, comparative religion. Its main business is to deal with the value of Christian faith for the completion of the Christian personality and society, and with the proof that in Christ's person and work there is revealed as reality what we believe as Christians, and what in the history of religions has been sought. Hence it must affirm the absoluteness of Christianity as a religion. So important in indicating Reischle's theological position is the last thesis, that, in spite of its length, it must be quoted in full. "Against all inclination to the historical method exclusively (Historizismus) Christian dogmatics and ethics have the *task* to raise the question regarding the eternal realities of the world of faith, and the eternal reasons and ends of the Christian and of Christendom. Also the *practical method* (Arbeitsweise) of the two studies, namely, in relation to the Scriptures, is not led to a quite new course by religious-historical inquiry, only to a more consistent pursuit of the long-trodden path, that is, the appreciation of the Scriptures in the spirit of freedom. As regards its *contents* dogmatics can call itself Christian only so long as it has its basis in the revelation of God in Jesus Christ, therefore only so long as in the doctrine of God it affirms, not an outward (only quantitatively and causally conceived) but an inward (qualitatively and finally understood) supernaturalism and

a personal rule of God, as it recognises in Jesus Christ not only the religious hero and genius, but the Saviour and Lord in the kingdom of God, as it clearly distinguishes the Holy Spirit of God, who works in and through Jesus from the universal spiritual life of humanity. Especially on the last point depends the Christian character of the ethics." This summary of the contents of this book must serve to show its interest and importance. In Britain no less than in Germany the time has come for Christian theology to face the question of its relation to this new method. To me at least it seems that the problem can be solved only on the lines indicated in this book, which I, therefore, most warmly commend to all who desire to be able to maintain amid modern intellectual conditions with a clear intelligence and a clean conscience "the faith once delivered to the saints".

2. In this pamphlet Herrmann discusses from his own distinctive standpoint the application of the moral teaching of Jesus to the Christian life. First of all, he insists that the new life must be gained if the new task is to be done. Next, he indicates the contrast between the life now lived by Christians in the world and the moral teaching of Jesus as regards labour, wealth, family. Then he shows the failure of the attempt in the monastic life to obey literally Christ's commandments. The failure of the solution offered by Luther is also recognised. The value of the modern view of the life of Jesus, as conditioned and limited by His age and people, for an appreciation of His moral teaching, is asserted. This leads on to a criticism of Tolstoi's teaching regarding the literal observance of Christ's commandments. The peculiarity of Jesus' moral teaching is found in the disposition He Himself showed, and required of His disciples—the love of God and man which was in marked contrast to the legal attitude. From this new standpoint it is insisted all the moral commands of Jesus are to be understood. So interpreted the difficulty which they present

if taken literally as legal commandments disappears. The new task which the moral teaching of Christ sets is then found to be an expression and an exercise of the new life He gives. Such are the leading thoughts of this pamphlet, the worth of which cannot be measured by its size, as the author in this, as in other pamphlets, offers us one of his valuable contributions to Christian faith and life. Its interest lies in the indication it offers of the originality of Herrmann's view of Christian truth and duty. Its importance lies in the treatment it gives to what for all Christians is not only a theoretical problem, but must often have proved a practical difficulty.

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3. In this small book the author seeks to put non-theological readers in a position to understand and to appreciate the parabolic teaching of Jesus. In the first part he describes in a very interesting way with illustrations from general literature the characteristics of figurative language —allegories and parables. In the second he defines the essence of the parables of Jesus, condemns their allegorical interpretation, and lays down the correct method of explanation. The third part discusses the problem of literary criticism—the nature of tradition and the literary sources of the Gospels—with special reference to the parables. In the fourth part the distinctive features of Jesus' use of parables are examined and expounded. Then is added a most valuable appendix, in which the parables of Jesus are arranged according to their transmission: (1) passages from Mark with parallels from another Mark-text used by Matthew and Luke; (2) passages out of the logia-source, transmitted by Matthew and Luke; (3) passages twice transmitted either from Mark and the logia-source, or of uncertain origin; (4) passages peculiar to one evangelist. The book contains many interesting exegetical suggestions, and is in every way fitted to be of great use to every student of the parables.

4. In this small book, pregnant with valuable thought, the famous psychologist shows not only his interest in, but also his command of, contemporary philosophical literature in Germany. He distinguishes four principal tendencies—positivism, materialism, naturalism, and idealism. By positivism he understands the philosophy which accepts as its basis all experience and science, and is opposed to all speculation. The two representatives of this tendency he discusses are almost unknown in Britain—Ernst Mach and Eugen Duehring. Haeckel, although he calls himself a monist, is altogether justly dealt with as representing materialism, and the searching criticism and scathing condemnation he receives deserve special attention, as his book on *The Riddle of the Universe* is being lauded in sceptical circles as the last word of science on religion. Nietzsche's naturalism in ethics also receives the treatment it deserves. Idealism is presented in Fechner, Lotze, von Hartmann, and Wundt. Dissatisfied even with idealism, the author does not despair of philosophy, and anticipates an increasing unity in philosophical efforts and achievements. This book offers a testimony, which we in Britain need, that German philosophy is not to be regarded as having finished its course in Hegel, but is even now offering much that will stimulate and instruct our minds.

Alfred E. Garvie.

The Beginnings of Christianity.

By Paul Wernle. Translated by Rev. G. A. Bienemann, M.A. Edited by Rev. W. D. Morrison, LL.D. Vol. II. The Development of the Church. London: Williams & Norgate. Price 10s. 6*d.*

THE second volume of Wernle's work on *The Beginnings of Christianity* is marked by the same general characteristics as the first, which was reviewed at length in these columns. The first dealt with the origin of the Christian religion, its originator being St. Paul, to whose work Wernle pays high testimony. The second deals with the development of the Church; and the link of transition is marked by the decay on the one hand of the apostles and prophets who gave way to the ecclesiastical leaders, and on the other by the development of theology under the extraneous influences of Judaism, Greek philosophy and gnosticism. The first and last original theologian of the Christian Church was Paul. The author of the fourth Gospel, which was in Wernle's view simply a "tract for the times," and reflected the controversies raging in the early second century, only worked on Paul's ideas, and the fourth Gospel was in his view "a clear evidence of the narrow sectarian spirit in early Christianity" (p. 154).

"The fourth Gospel derived its importance from its having bridged over the chasm between Jesus and St. Paul, and from its having carried the Pauline Gospel back into the life and teaching of Jesus" (ii., p. 262). "It is St. Paul that is original; St. John is not. In St. Paul's letters we look as through a window into the factory where these great thoughts flash forth and are developed; in St. John we see

the beginning of their transformation and decay" (p. 275). The theology that grew up after St. Paul passed away was moulded by three great influences: (1) The first was Judaism, and the task the theologians had was to establish the fact that Jesus was the Messiah. This took the form naturally of an apologetic of the death of Jesus, and in the fourth Gospel an attempt to run Messianic ideas through the entire life of Jesus. Christianity conquered in the conflict with Judaism, but not without assimilating ideas which obscured it. (2) The second moulding influence was Greek philosophy. To this we owe the doctrine of the divinity of Jesus. Judaism was so strictly monotheistic as to find no room for such a dogma; to Judaistic Christianity Jesus was simply the Messiah. But under the influence of Hellenism "Jesus Christ was opposed to the old gods as the new and stronger God. That is the meaning of the 'divinity of Christ'. The idea arose among the heathen, and must be conceived of in antithesis to the heathen gods" (p. 114). Similarly the "myth" of the parentage of Christ being ascribed to God and a mortal woman "sprang up amongst Gentile Christians". By the year 100 Wernle thinks the germ had been formed of the complete transformation of Christianity by the infusion into it of Greek ideas. (3) The third moulding influence was gnosticism, under which Christianity underwent the greatest change of all, and became, strictly speaking, Catholic Christianity, or "the exaltation of orthodoxy and ecclesiasticism". Meanwhile, in two fine closing chapters, the most welcome in the book, Wernle shows how it fared with personal religion among the members of the Church while theology was undergoing this development at the hands of the theologians.

Wernle's entire scheme of the development of Christian theology and institutions implies the most advanced principles of New Testament criticism. This comes out in the chapters entitled "The Fate of Jesus" and "The Fate of Paul," which did not appear in the first German edition of the book. The period when the Christian writings that form the New Testament were selected was the first decade

of the second century, though they did not at that early date form what we call the canon. But if the books date from about that time, it follows, on Wernle's view, that they reflect the theology of the period. "The theology of the New Testament is the theology of Catholicism, as it originates at the beginning of the second century. Here we have a fact which deserves notice to-day. When the New Testament as a whole is our authority, then we are simply submitting to the judgment of the Church at the beginning of the second century. It is not the words of Jesus or the letters of St. Paul which are then our final court of appeal, but the thoughts of the ecclesiastics who selected the words of Jesus and the letters of St. Paul, together with documents of a later date to form the canon of the Christian Scriptures" (p. 247). Therefore, in the best of cases, it is but a broken impression that we have of Jesus. Now, what does all this amount to? It comes to this, that the New Testament writings do not bring us face to face with the historic Jesus so much as with the construction of His person and history at the hands of the Church. And that is what the higher criticism of the Gospels, especially in the hands of men like Wernle, has brought us to. The Gospels are our only means of knowing Jesus, but they obscure rather than reveal Him. They are coloured by the tendencies of the time and the motives of the compilers. Mark's is the nearest to an actual portraiture, but ten years after it appeared it could not be tolerated. So we have the ecclesiastical Gospels of Matthew and Luke, with their prologues of the infancy of Jesus and their conclusions which represent the views of a later age. In short, the New Testament writings "cease to be historical documents for Jesus and His Gospel, or for St. Paul, his character and theology. They tell us what the growing Catholic Church thought about Jesus and St. Paul. Further than that their historical reliability does not go" (p. 253). "The New Testament alone hands down to us the words of Jesus and His apostles, and at the same time obscures them for all times, and so still for us" (p. 296). One cannot help saying

of all this kind of thing, "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him". The alternative which such a book as Wernle's presents is simply this —"Did Christianity create Christ, or did Christ create Christianity?" All such attempts to eliminate the supernatural from the Gospel history seem to try every conceivable way of explaining the religion which goes by the name of Jesus except the simple one of deriving it from Himself.

David Purves.

The Philosophy of Auguste Comte.

By L. Lévy-Bruhl. Authorised Translation. Introductory Note by Frederic Harrison. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Pp. xiv. + 363. *Price* 10s. 6*d.*

The Critics of Herbartianism.

By F. H. Hayward, D.Litt. Assisted by M. E. Thomas. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Pp. vii. + 221. *Price* 4s. 6*d.*

It can hardly be doubted that Auguste Comte is one whose weaknesses have somewhat obscured his strength. A thinker who assumes himself among the great, who speaks of Kant as his last great precursor, and of himself as one whom, as it were, the ages had been tending to and waiting for, is very apt to get less even than his due, and in the case of one who in his later years got so plainly *déraillé*, it is no wonder if we miss his solid merits and distrust his guidance. Spite, however, of his conceits and vagaries, Comte remains one of the great ones of the earth. He may justly be called the founder of sociology. He did not a little for the philosophy of history, and in particular rescued the Middle Ages from the contempt in which they had been almost buried and gave them their rightful place in the development of Europe. He is the one French thinker of the nineteenth century who has found a hearing and made an impression outside his own country. He had no small influence on J. S. Mill, Herbert Spencer and George Eliot. He has contributed in no small degree to that positive and non-metaphysical way of looking at things which may be called our modern point of view. "The speculative philosophy of Comte," says M. Lévy-Bruhl, "is living still, and pursues its evolution even within the minds of those who are engaged in opposing it."

The volume before us is a timely and most competent attempt to do justice to Comte by showing what he really

taught. The author writes neither as an adherent nor as a critic but simply as an expositor, but he works in that spirit of deference and sympathy which alone ensures a fair and luminous exposition. He knows his subject thoroughly, and quotes freely from the original sources. The style is clear, the manner interesting, and the result is a book of great richness and utility. "We welcome a book," says Mr. Frederic Harrison in his introductory note, "which all positivists will regard as fair, learned and instructive, and which all students of philosophy must regard as a masterly study of a comprehensive subject."

M. Lévy-Bruhl confines himself to the philosophy of Comte and says but little of the religion of humanity. His reason, however, is not that he agrees with Littré and others in regarding Comte's second career as inconsistent with his first. Comte's doctrine, he contends, is a unity. His second great work was certainly written from a new point of view—the synthetic or religious, but, as is proved by the six early pamphlets printed at the end of it and by the correspondence with Mill, positive religion was no mere afterthought or aberration, but had been looked forward to from the first as that to which the philosophy was only the prelude. To put an end to intellectual anarchy there had to be a systematisation of ideas—science had to be transformed into philosophy; but, further, to put an end to moral and social anarchy there had to be a systematisation of feeling—philosophy had to be transformed into religion. On the other hand, Comte's social and religious superstructure is of far less interest and moment than the process by which it was reached. "By his *Politique positive* Comte only represents his generation. By his philosophy properly so called he is a representative man of his entire century." And therefore while never forgetting the whole of which it is a part, it is with the philosophy alone our author proposes to deal.

The exposition is divided into four books. Of these the first (pp. 23-118) sets forth the main conceptions of Comte's philosophy—the law of the three states, the classification of

the sciences, the nature and method of science. The second (pp. 121-209) takes up the fundamental sciences in their order, mathematics, astronomy, chemistry and physics, biology; and there is added a most interesting chapter on psychology. The third book (pp. 213-299) is devoted to social science, with a final chapter on the philosophy of history. The last book (pp. 303-363) contains three chapters—The Principles of Ethics, Social Ethics, The Idea of Humanity. The exposition is thus seen to be full and complete, and its conspicuous merit is that it is an organic whole; it enters into all needful details but never fails to bring them into relation with the leading principles of the system.

To follow M. Lévy-Bruhl over the whole field is out of the question, but the general apologetic tone of his book suggests our asking what light he has to throw on these points on which Comte has most frequently been criticised. His defence in general is, that Comte has been misunderstood.

The law of the three states has often been thought to imply that the trend of humanity is towards a final state in which there shall be no religion, whereas it is simply the general formula of intellectual progress, the term "theological" meaning anthropomorphic, and "metaphysical" being equivalent to hypothetical or abstract. So explained, M. Lévy-Bruhl appears to regard the law as completely established, and as of capital importance. Again, Comte has been taken to task, notably by Herbert Spencer, for proposing a most illogical classification of the sciences. The truth is that he never aimed at a logical classification. His scheme of the sciences was merely the complement and illustration of his law of the three states, and his sole aim was to trace the ascent of the positive spirit through the successive orders of phenomena, the order in which he placed the fundamental sciences being the order of growing complexity, and the order in which the positive stage had been attained. Lastly, it has been repeatedly affirmed that Comte repudiated psychology. On the contrary, he was the first to put it in the way of becoming a genuine science. He poured contempt on what

in his day was called by that name; he rejected with scorn the psychology of Cousin, based as it was on a mere futile introspection of the Ego. But he never denied that there was a science which studied the laws of psychical phenomena. All he denied was that these laws could be discovered by internal observation. Hitherto psychology had been suspended as it were in mid-air; Comte took it down and attached it on the one side to biology, thus giving us physiological psychology, and on the other side to sociology, insisting that analysis of the individual mind must give way to an analysis of the mind in its continuous evolution. Positivism, in short, on its first appearance, seemed to destroy theology, metaphysic, psychology, logic, ethics, but, says M. Lévy-Bruhl, "this entirely negative aspect of his philosophy is very far from being the one according to which we can best understand it. Truly speaking, it is only preparatory, and historians have often committed the mistake of allowing people to believe that it is essential. 'We only destroy what we replace,' said Comte" (p. 358).

The translation by Miss Kathleen de Beaumont-Klein is well done, and it is only now and again—*e.g.*, on pp. 30, 65, 139—one remembers one is not reading an original. It is curious to find the names of Kant's works left in *French*. To substitute one thing *to* another is not idiomatic English (pp. 62, 77, 114, etc.). Before the names of living French writers it is usual to put "M." not "Mr.," and it is certainly wrong to put now the one and now the other. The proof-reading, too, has been very lax; there are far too many misprints—*e.g.*, on pp. 17, 48, 51, 66, 77, 107, 112, etc., the inverted commas are almost as often wrong as right. And unfortunately this book, which is of the very sort one feels one might refer to again and again with profit, is without an index.

Dr. Hayward is an enthusiastic Herbartian. "The man who has read Herbart's educational works unmoved has read them either *without* understanding or *with* prejudice." He believes in Herbartianism not merely as "an academic

system from which pedagogues can pick up a few useful hints," but as "a moral gospel for men perishing through stupidity and absence of ideas". "Herbartianism in its claims is nothing less than an educational High Church movement, with the transubstantiation of ideas into virtue as its central marvel." The present work, however, does not contain an exposition of Herbart's principles: that must be sought elsewhere; for instance, in the same author's *The Student's Herbart*. Its aim is to lay before English readers some account of the critical literature on Herbartianism that has sprung up of recent years especially in the land of its birth. "The design of the work is to indicate the nature of the present-day educational controversies over Herbartianism, and in this way to pave the way to an impartial judgment upon the questions at stake." Hence it is "a series of contributions rather than a definite unity". After a fresh and lively introduction (pp. 1-35) and a historical survey (pp. 36-76), Dr. Hayward gives an account of Herbartian literature in English (pp. 77-97), in which he bestows high though not unmingled praise on the writings of Mr. and Mrs. Felkin, Professor Adams, Dr. Findlay, Mr. Rooper and Miss Dodd; and then takes up his *pièce de resistance*—"The Critics of Herbartianism," explaining clearly their views and measuring out praise and blame with much spirit to Dittes, Natorp and ten others, two of whom, however, are dealt with by Miss Thomas—Vogel and Linde. Professor Darroch comes in for a rather severe handling in the appendix. This little book is a thorough bit of work, enriching and clarifying.

John Lendrum.

1. Das Gesetz und Christus im Evangelium.

Von Chr. A. Bugge. Christiania: J. Dybwad, 1903. *Large* 8*vo*, pp. 95.

2. Das Gebet um tägliche Vergebung der Sünden [in der Heilsverkündigung Jesu und in den Briefen des Ap. Paulus].

Von G. Bindeman. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902. *Cr.* 8*vo*, pp. 105. *Price* 1*s.* 6*d. net.*

3. Der Begriff der Gnade im N. T.

Von R. Vömel. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1903. *Cr.* 8*vo*, pp. 131. *Price* 1*s.* 6*d. net.*

4. Tertullian's dogmatische und ethische Grundanschauungen.

Von Wilhelm Vollert. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902, 1903.

1. In *The Law and Christ in the Gospel* Bugge seeks to apply to the present doctrine of the Church his theory of the primitive belief in the identity of Christ and the Law, a theory which he has developed elsewhere, but here summarises at the outset. The first generations of Christians, he says, were almost all Jews, or persons who had been in attendance at the Jewish synagogue, and were therefore acquainted with the popular Jewish theology in which the Law was hypostatised or personified as wisdom is in Prov. viii. Paul himself identifies Christ and the Torah when he applies directly to Jesus the words of Deut. xxx. 12, "*Who shall ascend to heaven, that is to bring Christ down*". The same identification is implicit in Jesus' own claim to be Lord of the Sabbath, and His declaration that all meats are clean. The "waiting" in Israel among whom Christianity had its birth seeing in the Messiah the light of the world, regarded

Him as one with that Law which was also to lighten the Gentiles.

In this exposition of the New Testament doctrine of the Law there is surely a confusion of thought or between thought and language. To begin with, it is difficult to believe in the alleged hypostatising of the Torah; for even the personification of a thing like the Law, with its mass of well-known practical details, is a somewhat violent figure of speech, and must always have remained no more than a figure. The Law then being what it was, a collection of precepts, and not a mystical person, it is difficult to attach a meaning to Bugge's *Identitäteslehre*. To appeal to a law of God finding expression imperfectly in Moses then absolutely in Christ is to give up the position that Christ and the Law are the same.

This initial want of clearness as to what is meant by "the Law" confuses the argument, yet much interesting material regarding the relation of Law and Gospel is gathered. Bugge thinks that Paul was the only one who at first grasped the idea that Christ was the Law at a higher stage of evolution. He quotes the witty remark, "No one in the primitive Church understood Paul but Marcion, and he misunderstood him". Through Irenæus and Justin he traces the mistaken development which left the Law and Christ side by side, and had therefore to attempt the distinction between the ceremonial and the binding moral law. It is thus evident that the bold antithesis of Law and Gospel in the Reformation was a rediscovery, and some passages in Luther's breeziest style are quoted to show his view of the absolute hostility between them. Yet the question what place the moral law does have in the Gospel received no completely satisfactory answer. It was said to provoke the sense of sin and thus lead to repentance, and to be valid only for the "old man". Founding on Luther, Herrmann, not quite rightly in Bugge's view, holds that repentance is the effect not of the Law but of the overpowering influence of the pure and good as revealed in Christ. Bugge, in opposition, insists that the Scriptural

contrast is not Law and Gospel but Law and promise, or Law and faith, and that Paul spoke of "establishing the Law". The old covenant is annulled, not the Law, and even under the new convenant the Law plays a part. For the Christian, however, the Law is identical with Christ, and He fills the same place in experience that the Law did before. The Law thus acquires the character of an inspiring ideal and ceases to be the pleasure of a command.

But all that is true in this does not rest on the proposition that Jesus is identical with the Law, an unreal assertion which is not brought into the realm of fact by the acceptance of the existence of a primitive belief in the identity of the Torah and the Messiah. Rather the Law is lost sight of altogether, but is in its essentials present in the ideal Christ sets forth; and Bugge's position is really just that which he rejected as Herrmann's, that the impression of the Person of Christ works all that the Law was ever supposed to do. Bugge brings this out aptly by the example of Peter, whose sense of sin was aroused not by the Law but by the recognition of his Master; and of Peter's sermon in Acts ii. where it was the reference not to the breaking of the Law, but to the rejection of the Messiah which provoked repentance in his hearers. In conclusion one may be allowed to remark that an extraordinary number of printer's errors have escaped correction.

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2. Bindeman draws attention to the remarkable fact that apart from the fifth petition of the Lord's Prayer, nowhere in the New Testament—not even in the passage in 1 John which is part of the evening invocation in the Book of Common Prayer—are Christians directly enjoined to pray daily for forgiveness. This is specially strange in Paul's writings; for he lets us see into his inner life, has much to say about prayer, addresses and prays for sinful churches. Is this then because of some difference in doctrine between Paul and Jesus; is it that for Paul a saved man cannot, in principle, sin any more and so cannot logically pray for forgiveness; or is a knowledge of

the Lord's Prayer and the habit of such daily petition everywhere assumed?

Bindeman first dismisses the solution of the discrepancy offered by Holtzmann's view that in Mt. *οφειλήματα* means *omitted duties* and that Jesus included Himself in the petition, finding support in Dalman's authority for the meaning of the Aramaic word presumably behind both *οφειλήματα* and *ἁμαρτίας*. In the second place he raises a difficulty which is hardly real. How, if Jesus brought the Kingdom of God with Him and the disciples were members of it, had they still to pray for its chief boon. Of course just because the kingdom remains something not yet finally established but appropriated only by a continuous relation to Jesus on whom and its gifts we have continually to lay hold. Coming at last to Paul's attitude to prayer for forgiveness, Bindeman wisely refrains from pressing the few possible allusions in the epistles to the Lord's Prayer. He rests on the historical impossibility of Paul being ignorant of it and on the witness of Polycarp's letter to the Philippians that it was already in his time known in the churches Paul had founded; and he has no difficulty in showing that in Paul's own consciousness, in the hard facts of the life of his converts, and in his doctrine —that also of Christ—of a judgment according to works, there is ample ground for believing that Paul too felt the necessity for the daily renewal of the petition for the forgiveness of sins.

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3. Bindeman's pamphlet and the two following essays in the *Beiträge* edited by Schlatter, of Tübingen, and the late Dr. Cremer, of Greifswald, help one to realise the total want of sympathy between the members of the confessional and liberal schools of theology in Germany. Vömel opens his discussion of the *Notion of Grace in the New Testament* in a way which dashes our hopes of his own work, by a criticism from the extreme confessional position of what seems to have been an excellent pamphlet by a Dr. Dieckman, and then proceeds to review the use of *χάρις* by the various writers in the New

Testament. Even a leader of the late United Presbyterian Church confessed the other day that the question whether Christ died for all or for the elect had lost its interest, and the treatment of the matter here confirms that view. The best thing in the essay is the remark on John i. 12, "glory as of an only begotten of a father, full of grace and truth". The only begotten will not keep the glory to Himself, but "lets its rays stream in upon men so that they too share the blessings of being God's children—and *therefore* He is full of grace".

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4. The remaining pages of the number are filled by a vigorous and readable exposition of *Tertullian's Fundamental Ideas on Dogmatics and Ethics*. Vollert confines himself, however, almost entirely to a summary of Tertullian's life and chief writings, and the few critical remarks he makes are not very valuable. Tertullian's opposition to infant baptism is dismissed in the sentence, "His attitude to infant baptism is absurd and fortunately remained isolated; his eagerness to lay stress on faith and repentance has here played him false". The vague references to the Montanist movement, *e.g.*, "the perilous doctrine of Montanus," do not show a true, or perhaps any, conception of its real nature.

R. W. Stewart.

1. Recent Tendencies in Ethics.

Three Lectures to Clergy given at Cambridge by W. R. Sorley, M.A., Hon. LL.D. Edin., Knightbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 8vo, pp. v. + 139. *Price* 2*s.* 6*d.*

2. Grundprobleme der Religionsphilosophie.

Acht Vorträge von Dr. A. Dorner. Berlin: C. A. Schwetscke und Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. v. + 132. *Price* 3*s.* 6*d. net.*

1. READERS of this book ought to be thankful to the clergy who persuaded Professor Sorley to break that silence which has been his characteristic of recent years, and to give them these admirable lectures, now accessible to a wider audience. A man who can do such admirable work as is done in these lectures ought to do a great deal more. Has Professor Sorley any right to keep back those rich stores of reading and reflection which he has at command? Surely we shall soon receive from him the works he has already promised to the public, and other works also, which are sorely needed in the present state of speculation. As to those lectures now before us, they are helpful, and in style and thought in every way admirable. At the outset Professor Sorley gives us the characteristics of ethical thought in England during the nineteenth century. He points out with great lucidity that the ethical thought of last century centred round two questions, the question of the origin of moral ideas, and the question of the criterion of moral value. Having further elucidated and illustrated this statement, Professor Sorley goes on to show "that a thorough-going attempt has been made to revalue all the old standards of morality". What

these attempts have been, and how far they have been successful, is the next part of Professor Sorley's work. Briefly and brilliantly the new situation is set forth, and associated with such names as those of Nietzsche, Darwin and others. The second lecture deals with Ethics and Evolution. In this subject Professor Sorley is at home, as every reader of his work on *The Ethics of Naturalism* knows. We are glad to see that a new and revised edition of this work is promised by Professor Sorley. Beginning by pointing out the distinction between the "Evolution of Ethics" and the "Ethics of Evolution," and giving to evolution credit for all that it has achieved, Professor Sorley thus states his problem: "The problem I have in view lies beyond this historical question. It is the problem how far the known facts and probable theories regarding the development of morality can make any contribution towards determining the standard of worth for our ideas, our sentiments and our conduct. Now if we read the accredited exponents of the doctrine of evolution we shall find amongst them a considerable variety of view regarding the bearing of the theory of evolution upon this properly ethical problem—the problem of the criterion or standard of goodness." He describes briefly this variety of view. Darwin and Spencer, Huxley and Nietzsche are passed in review, and then the fundamental conception underlying the differences is disentangled, and made the subject of reflection and criticism. We commend earnestly this part of the lecture: would that it were carried out at greater length. It is an excellent bit of work.

The third lecture deals with Ethics and Idealism. Here, too, the wide reading and reflective and critical power of Professor Sorley are in evidence. The writers mainly in view are men of the stature of Green, Bradley, and others, who, if not of the same stature as were those giants, yet are men of influence in recent ethical speculation. Green is reverently handled, yet dissent from some of his positions is firmly indicated. But the best part of the whole book is that which deals with Bradley. It is brief, yet it is about the most telling of all the criticisms that have been called forth by

Bradley's teaching as set forth in *Appearance and Reality.* We hope it is only a prophecy of better and larger things to come. Into the criticism of Bradley we do not mean to enter. There is also a brief account of the reaction against idealism, which has come forth and is now known as Pragmatism, or as Mr. Schiller calls it, Humanism. Professor Sorley has a few cogent remarks on this tendency, and then briefly states his own ethical position. "There is one thing which all reasoning about morality assumes," he says, "and must assume, and that is morality itself. The moral concept, whether described as worth or as duty or as goodness, cannot be distilled out of any knowledge about the laws of existence or of occurrence. Nor will speculation about the real conditions of experience yield it, unless adequate recognition be first given to the fact that the experience which is the subject-matter of philosophy is not merely a sensuous and thinking, but also a moral, experience. The approval of the good, the disapproval of the evil, and the preference of the latter: these would seem to be basal facts for an adequate philosophical theory, and they imply the striving for a best, however imperfect the apprehension of that best may always remain. Only when these facts—the characteristic facts of moral experience—are recognised as constituents of the experience which is our subject-matter are we in a position profitably to inquire what is good and what evil, and how the best is to be conceived.

"The recognition of these facts would only be a beginning; but it would be a beginning which would avoid the cardinal errors fallen into not only by the leading exponents of evolutionist morality, but also to be found in much of the ethical work of idealist metaphysicians. It seems to have been assumed that moral principles can be reached by the application of scientific generalisations or of the results of a metaphysical analysis which has started by overlooking the facts of the moral consciousness. Even as a metaphysic this procedure is inadequate; and the interpretations of reality to which it has led have erred by over-intellectuality."

2. The recent review in our pages of Dorner's *Grundriss der Religionsphilosophie* makes it unnecessary for us to dwell at length on these lectures on the *Grundprobleme der Religionsphilosophie.* The lecture on the fundamental problems of the philosophy of religion is not a mere reproduction of the discussions of the larger work. It is a fresh discussion of the subject, and will meet the needs of those who might be discouraged by the size of the larger work, and by the more technical language in which it is written. Some things are discussed in the larger work which are not touched here. Those who desire to know Dorner's view on the metaphysic of religion will not find that discussion in the smaller volume. But they will find many things to profit and instruct them. They will find in the opening chapter a luminous description of the various methods of the philosophy of religion, and of the points of view from which philosophers have approached the problems of the philosophy of religion. Then we have a description of the method that Dorner uses, and of the point of view which he occupies. Then in the third part he comes to the subject of *religion* itself, and discusses its *Wesen.* The fourth deals with the topic "Religion and Religions," or the development of religion. The fifth deals with Subjective Faith and the specific manifestations ("Äusserungen") of faith. Of such expressions of faith Dr. Dorner enumerates and discusses a goodly number. The discussion is rich in interest and very instructive; from the discussion of sacrifice on to sacramental objects and actions, to revelation, symbolism, religious art, religious doctrine and dogma, the exposition proceeds with insight, and with incisive suggestiveness. Then comes a good discussion of religious ethics and religious fellowship, and finally there is, in the last lecture, a discussion on religion in relation to secular morality, science and art, and the book ends with a glowing description, full of fire and rich in content, of the power of faith as the uniting bond of all the functions and vocations of life. It is a book which ought to be widely read, and studied by all interested in the subject. It contains in brief compass and in lucid paragraphs the fruit of prolonged

reflection on the deepest problems of thought and life. Into it the author has put the quintessence of all his work in philosophy and theology, and he has made as memorable a contribution towards the solution of the fundamental problems of the philosophy of religion as any with which we are acquainted.

James Iverach.

The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers. The Gifford Lectures in the University of Glasgow in Sessions 1900-1, 1901-2. By Edward Caird, LL.D., D.C.L., D. Litt., Fellow of the British Academy; Corresponding Member of the French Academy, Master of Balliol College, Oxford; late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1904. 2 vols. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii.+382; xi.+377. Price 14s. net.

In these volumes we get the course of Gifford Lectures which Dr. Caird delivered before the University of Glasgow in Sessions 1900-1, 1901-2. The Lectures have been rewritten for the purpose of publication, and they include three which were not given on the occasion referred to. They contain much of Dr. Caird's best work, and make a very weighty contribution to the history of Greek thought. They follow up a previous course of Gifford Lectures which were prepared on the invitation of the University of St. Andrews and dealt with the evolution of religion. Both courses of Lectures are dominated, as was only to be expected, by Dr. Caird's own philosophy. Both contain a good many things which are difficult for any one to grasp who is not *au fait* with the idealistic conception of the world and versed in Dr. Caird's use of terms. But in the second series there is less of the extremely abstruse. There is a good deal no doubt that must seem to the mass of readers indefinite and hard to apprehend. This holds true especially of some things which are said of the Christian system. But the Lectures now before us carry us with them in their leading statements. They are brilliant expositions of the themes which they handle. They fascinate us by their style. They captivate us by the enthusiasm which beats in them. They enlarge our conceptions of the master minds in ancient

Greek speculation by their admirable criticisms and far-reaching views of the systems and ideas in question.

What is attempted is, as the author himself states it, to "give an account of those ideas of Greek philosophy which have most powerfully affected the subsequent development of theological thought". It is with "*theological* thought," therefore, that Dr. Caird is concerned. But it is soon made clear that that term is not used in the sense in which most men take it. It is the philosopher's view of things that is presented, not the theologian's in the ordinary application of the word. Dr. Caird's theology is the theology that deals with the idea of the Absolute or that of an underlying universal *principle*. It is in its relation to this that the long scheme of Greek speculative thought is drawn out, interpreted, criticised and estimated. It is matter of course, therefore, that when Dr. Caird comes to the Christian view of the world, he speaks sometimes in a way that to ordinary Christian people, and indeed to all not steeped in the conceptions and terminology of a high idealism, sounds chill and vague and leaves much to be explained. Many just and appreciative words are spoken of Christianity. But we are left somewhat doubtful of what Dr. Caird takes it really to be and what is the precise value, final or merely provisional, which he attaches to it. His eloquent and interesting pages fail to make it clear to us what he means by forms of thought and "imaginative symbols" in application to Christianity, how much of historical fact he recognises in it, and what he makes, for example, of the event which made the Apostles what they were—the event of the Resurrection, which to Paul and to the Twelve alike was at once the foundation of their Gospel and the inspiration of their lives. The discussion covers twenty-seven Lectures, and the plan followed is a simple one. The foundation of the argument is laid in two chapters which have for their subjects the "Relation of Religion to Theology" and the "Stages in the Evolution of Theology". The bulk of the work is occupied with an exposition of the great systems of philosophy, Platonic, Aristotelian, Stoic, Neo-Platonic, with their characteristic

ideas. Into this is introduced a special examination of the philosophy and theology of Philo, which is admirably well done. The whole is brought to a conclusion by a statement of the influence of Greek philosophy upon Christian theology. There is not one of these Lectures that is not full of interest. But the most luminous, informing and suggestive of them are those which grapple with the fundamental principles, the distinctive conceptions, and the speculative value of the great philosophies. Nothing more brilliant or penetrating has been written on these subjects. Dr. Caird brings us into the very heart of these systems, and interprets them to us from their living centre. This is true of all. It is most conspicuously so of the discussions of Platonism and Stoicism. The work rises to its highest in the general view which it presents of these, and in what it has to say in particular of the mystic and idealistic elements in Plato's philosophy, the position of Stoicism as a movement between two forms of life, and kindred questions. There is much here that we are tempted to quote. But it must be enough to refer, *instar omnium*, to the paragraphs which deal with the new view of Ethics given in the *Gorgias*, Plato's conception of the relation of final to efficient causes, the three ways of defining the idea of Good, the relation of the idea of Good to God, the Platonic Grades of Souls, the Aristotelian conceptions of Reason in its various aspects, the Stoic Monism, the degrees in the hierarchy of powers in Plotinus, etc.

But to come back to the questions with which Dr. Caird starts, what does he understand by *Religion* and *Theology*, and what does he make of the relation of Reason to Faith? The fundamental thing in religion is the unity of man with God. What makes the essence of religion is the "idea of the continuity and self-consistency of the intelligible world as a system which throughout all its differences is the manifestation of one principle". It means that the universe in which man lives is "in its ultimate meaning and reality a spiritual world"; and that in the world so constituted there is a unity between God and man. "*God*," he says, "is a word that has no significance unless by it we mean to

express the idea of a Being who is the principle of unity presupposed in all the differences of things, and in all our divided consciousness of them." *Theology*, then, is the unfolding of the religious consciousness which has for its essence that sense of the unity of God and man, and the evolution of theology is the course by which this conviction has been deepened, strengthened and enlarged. The real nature of religion, therefore, is discovered neither in dogma nor in ritual; and the office of theology is something very different from that of constructing dogmatic systems. But there is an important function for the latter. It is to explain the religious consciousness in the light of its fundamental philosophical principle.

And the place of reason in connexion with this is both a large place and a vital. Faith must be subject to the criticism of reason and there can be no limitation to the action of the latter. Faith must seek to "understand itself," if it is not to be a dead thing, or at best a thing living within itself and withdrawn from every other sphere of life and human concern. But this does not mean that we are to have a religion of the intellect and not of the heart; nor does it mean that the ultimate result of the operation of reason will be the dissolution of faith. It may show us that much that we have regarded as vital to religion belongs only to its temporary form, not to its real substance. But it is Dr. Caird's conviction that though reason may "accidentally become opposed to faith, its ultimate and healthy action must preserve for us or restore to us all that is valuable in faith".

In the closing lecture the comparison between the system of Plotinus and Christianity is brought to a point. The latter is held to contain at once a deeper pessimism and a deeper optimism than the former, and to have the advantage over it not only of recognising evil as rooted in the consciousness and will, but of making "the existence of evil explicable as a necessary step in the development of the finite spirit to a consciousness of the divine principle which is realising itself in and through its finitude". This, we fear, is at best but

a very partial interpretation of evil, at least of *moral* evil, a construction of the great burden and mystery of the world, which comes far short of that which we owe to the teaching of our Lord Himself and that of the prophets who went before Him and the apostles who followed Him. Dr. Caird speaks eloquently and justly of the new conception of the relation of man to God which Christianity introduced; of its doctrine of conversion, redemption and reconciliation; and of the power of that doctrine as embodied in the individual life of Christ. But looking to the history of the Christian Church he sees how certain adverse and limiting tendencies soon set in, and how Christianity became by-and-by "a religion of other worldliness, a religion in which the life of this world was viewed merely as a preparation for another". And he proceeds to state at length how this tendency was resisted "first by the conception of Christ as the Jewish Messiah, and then by the influence of the Greek, and especially the Neo-Platonic, philosophy". The statement which Dr. Caird gives us of the magnitude of this Greek influence on the development of Christian theology seems to us to be somewhat exaggerated at certain points. But it is a satisfaction to see that he does not take the poor view of the great controversies about the Trinity and the Person of Christ with which we are familiar in the writings of Harnack and his school. They are not to him mere controversies about words, mere "subtilities introduced by Greek philosophy into the Christian religion which have no real significance for later times," or "parts of that secularisation of the Christian faith by which it was drawn down into the sphere of an unchristian system of thought". He looks deeper, and recognises in them discussions containing great issues, passages in the history of the endeavour of the Christian mind to work out an answer to the question of questions —the relation of the human to the divine. The rise of these controversies was not a matter of accident or untoward circumstance. Their rise was made inevitable by the problem of the life of Christ and His relation to God and to man. And it was not possible, as Dr. Caird shortly puts it, that "the

Church should rest with complete assurance in its faith, till all the various aspects of it were considered, and till the controversy regarding them was brought to a definite issue".

We have touched but a few of the many questions of interest with which Dr. Caird grapples. We owe him much for a course of Lectures so fertile in ideas, with such a wealth of matter, and in all respects so worthy of his own reputation.

S. D. F. Salmond.

Notices.

In the fourth issue of the *Revue de Théologie et des Questions religieuses* for the current year M. C.-E. Babut writes on the Biblical and Symbolo-fidéist ideas of justifying faith, and M. Henri Bois on the "Conception of Solidarity". There is a critical discussion by M. A. Segond of the Old Testament account of the conquest of Canaan, the general result of which is thus expressed—"la conquête de Canaan ne s'est point effectuée avec cette homogénéité, cet ensemble, qu'à la suite de la tradition post-Exilique nous etions habitués à lui prêter". M. L. Dupin de Saint André contributes a very readable historical article on the Vaudois of Piedmont, and M. C. Bruston examines again the sense of ἱλαστήριον in Rom. iii. 25. Formerly he had taken the term as an adjective masculine qualifying the Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, and consequently had given the passage the sense of "que Dieu avait preétabli (pour être un jour) propitiatoire (ou propitiateur) par la foi". Looking now, however, especially to Deissmann's article on the *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1903, p. 193, he takes the ἱλαστήριον to be a neuter substantive, and (in essential harmony with the Greek use of the word) understands the sentence to set forth Christ as "une offrande (ἀνάθημα) présentée à Dieu pour obtenir de lui le pardon (des pêchés du genre humain) ou pour apaiser sa colère".

In the first part of the ably conducted *Journal of Biblical Literature* for 1904 the most elaborate article is one by W. R. Schoemaker on "The Use of רוּחַ and πνεῦμα". It occupies some fifty-five pages and goes into a detailed investigation of the usage of רוּחַ in the Old Testament at different periods (B.C. 900-700, B.C. 700-550, B.C. 550-400,

400 to the Maccabean times). It deals next with the term πνεῦμα as it occurs in the classical writers, the LXX, the Apocrypha, Philo, Josephus and the New Testament. It is impossible to summarise it here. One feels almost lost in the mass of particulars. But it will repay perusal, not least in the comparison which it draws from time to time between πνεῦμα and ψυχή, and the exposition it gives of the extent to which the Pauline use is peculiar. Professor Goodspeed, of Chicago, gives a brief but interesting account of a Toledo manuscript of the apocryphal letter of Paul to the Laodiceans. Of this letter forty-three manuscripts, he observes, have already been registered. The one here described is not the one which stands sixth in Harnack's list in his *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, but another which came under Professor Goodspeed's notice last October in the Chapter Library at Toledo and consists of 151 leaves of fine parchment in single columns. He mentions also that he had occasion to observe in the catalogue of the University of Madrid other three manuscripts of the same Epistle, not named either in Harnack's lists or in Lightfoot's. Thus the number of manuscripts of this curious document is brought up to forty-seven.

In the *Catholic World* for July Dr. James J. Welsh contributes a paper on "Modern Electricity and Orthodoxy," in which he gives brief and appreciative sketches of the achievements of Oersted, Ampère, Coulomb, Ohm, Clerk Maxwell and Lord Kelvin, and their respective attitudes to religion.

Among the most interesting papers in the July and August issues of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* are two by Mr. Albert Barrett on "The Social Life of the Puritan," which deal effectively with the misrepresentations and exaggerations of the opponents of the Puritans on the subject.

The opening paper in the third issue of the *Revue d'Histoire et de littérature religieuses* for the year is one deserving special attention. Under the title "Sanctorum Communionem" G. Morin goes into a historical and critical investigation of the

article in the Apostles' Creed on the "Communion of Saints," with special reference to the views expressed by A. Köstlin, Harnack, Zahn, Swete, Kattenbusch and Kirsch.

The ninth number of volume three of the *Independent Review* contains a number of seasonable papers on the reform of taxation, the Licensing Bill, etc. We may refer in particular, however, to Mr. G. Lewes Dickinson's second article on "Religion and Revelation," in which an attempt is made, which few, we should think, will regard as very successful, to show that, even if Revelation is rejected, religion will remain, and remain indeed all the more when Revelation is discounted.

The current number of the *International Journal of Ethics* opens with a paper by Herbert M. Thompson on "Moral Instruction in Schools," which is to be continued. Until it is completed we must suspend judgment of its scope. Mr. James H. Hyslop of New York follows with an acute paper on the question "Has the Universe an Intelligible Background and Purpose?" in which the two fundamental conceptions of teleology—the theistic which represents "teleological" as "implying conscious purpose looking to an end," and the view which "represents it as referring to a result to which a number of other facts convergently point as a consequence"—are contrasted and examined. The assumptions of modern science being in favour of an *immanent* teleology, the question which the author presses is whether this teleology implies a rational process; and in considering that question he takes the position that "nature will appear rational if it provides for the conservation of consciousness as well as that of energy and matter". Among other articles of interest we may mention one by F. Melian Stawell on "The Practical Reason in Aristotle," and another, full of information, on "The Moral Training of the Young in China," by the Hon. Chester Holcombe.

Perhaps the two most interesting papers in the July issue of the *Homiletic Review* are those by Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson on "The Modern Zoroastrians of Persia," and "Herbert Spencer and Religion," by Dr. Borden P. Bowne.

Dr. F. W. Gunsaulus also writes well on "The Significance and Function of the Ministry".

Professor H. M. Scott contributes a very interesting and instructive paper on "The Modern Jew; his Whence and his Whither" to the current number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. In the same number Professor Foster concludes his exposition of "Park's Theological System," giving a good account of his treatment of those doctrinal questions which he brought under the heads of Regeneration, Sanctification and Eschatology; and Dr. James Lindsay writes on "The Philosophy of Aquinas," claiming for the Angelic Doctor a place in the history of ethics "certainly not less important than his significance for the history of religious thought". Not much is to be got from Dr. Kuyper's article on "Biblical Criticism of the Present Day". But there are other two papers which deserve notice. One is by Louise Seymour Houghton on the question "When did Israel enter Canaan?" Taking the data which archæology places at our disposal along with the various statements of the Old Testament books and that of St. Paul in Acts xiii. 20, the writer comes to the conclusion that "the exodus occurred fully two hundred years earlier than it has of late been placed, that is, in 1423, forty years earlier than 1383, the date of Akenaten's reign, the King to whom Ab-di-Khíba wrote, namely, in the reign of Thothmes IV.". The other paper deals with the "Deaths of Antiochus IV., Herod the Great, and Herod Agrippa I.," examining the description given of these frightsome deaths and their reported causes.

The *Hibbert Journal* for July is a particularly good one. The Bishop of Rochester replies to Sir Oliver Lodge's article on "The Re-interpretation of Christian Doctrine". The Bishop deals in a kindly but not very effective way with Sir Oliver's contribution. That contribution, indeed, with all one's natural desire to think well of the conciliatory approach of an eminent man of science to the great doctrinal expressions of the Christian faith, one cannot regard either as in any measure correct in the views which it gives of the doctrines in question, or as opening up any way of reconcilia-

tion but at the cost of their meaning, and power, and life. Professor W. R. Sorley writes clearly and forcibly on "The Two Idealisms," and Dr. Cobb in a rather thin strain on "L'Hypocrisie Biblique Britannique". In a paper on "The Problem of Evil" St. George Stock expounds the position that the "problem and the mystery are entirely made for us by our theology, which postulates that the cause of all things is the will of a single almighty, all-wise and all-loving being," and that when once this proposition is given up the solution is found; for then only one answer is possible, *viz.*, "There is no evil; all things are very good". Dr. S. H. Mellone furnishes an admirable paper, full of just and pertinent thoughts, on "Present Aspects of the Problem of Immortality". And there are other articles of great interest, especially one by Dr. Bradley on "Hegel's Theory of Tragedy," and another in which Mr. T. Bailey Saunders gives an exceedingly readable and very discriminating account of "Herder".

Two papers call for special notice in the August issue of the *Expository Times*. The one is by Professor H. B. Swete, of Cambridge, on "The New Oxyrhynchus Sayings". It suggests a reconstruction of these "Sayings," and expresses the writer's impression that they are substantially genuine. Dr. Swete thinks it "not incredible that they have assumed their present form under the influence of the canonical Gospels, possibly also of the Apocalypse and certain of the Pauline Epistles," but his opinion is that, with these admissions there is a "large residuum which is at once new and after the manner of our Lord's earlier teaching". The other paper is an able and instructive study of "The Theology of John," by Professor Findlay, of Headingley College, bringing out the main points in the teaching of the Gospel, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse on the question of the knowability of God and the doctrine of God as Spirit, Light, Love and Father.

The July issue of *Indian Education*—the monthly Record for India, Burmah and Ceylon—has come to hand. It gives some valuable editorial notes, to begin with, on the fourth

quinquennial review of the progress of education in India, and follows this up by some very good papers on "Education in England," "English University Courses," "The Child Mind," etc.

In the current issue of *The Journal of Theological Studies* Dr. A. J. Mason writes on "A Modern Theory of the Fall". The paper is an able and kindly criticism of Mr. Tennant's "The Origin and Propagation of Sin" and "The Fall and Original Sin" in particular, and of the evolutionist theory of the Fall in general. Dr. Mason agrees on the whole with Mr. Tennant's views of the early chapters of Genesis, and his interpretation of the great passages in the Pauline writings, except in the case of the ἤμεθα τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποί. But he contests the view which makes so important a part of the modern theory, that "nothing can be called sinful which is not a conscious and wilful refusal to comply with a recognised law". He concludes that "the simplest explanation of the acknowledged universality of sin, as well as that which expresses best the penitential experience of good men, is to say with the Psalmist, 'Behold I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin hath my mother conceived me'"; and he expresses the belief that the Christian consciousness will never "reconcile itself to a theory which endeavours to account for the universality of sin by really denying its sinfulness". The Rev. J. Chapman continues his interesting exposition of the "Historical Setting of the Second and Third Epistles of St. John". He places the date of these two Epistles "before St. John's trial before Domitian, that is to say, not later than 95, and probably earlier". He brings out the close connexion between these Epistles and those known as 2 Timothy and 1 Peter, and gives a series of "Examples of Silence" bearing on the secrecy practised with regard to the persecuted Roman Church. To the instances furnished, as he judges, by Ignatius, Clement, the Apocalypse and the third Epistle of St. John, he thinks it natural to add the avoidance of the name of Rome in John's second Epistle, and to see in the "Elect Lady" the Roman Church. There

are, as usual, some important notes and studies, *e.g.*, on "Old Latin Texts of the Minor Prophets," by the Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley, on the "*Didache*," by Dr. C. Bigg, and on the "Strophical Structure in St. Jude's Epistle," by the Rev. H. J. Cladder.

The *Methodist Review* for July-August opens with a severe and searching paper on "Mr. Spencer's Philosophy" by Professor Borden P. Bowne, of Boston. The most prominent features of Mr. Spencer's great work are, in Dr. Bowne's opinion, "bad physics and bad metaphysics built with bad logic into a showy but baseless system". Under the title of "A Message from the Past to the Present," Professor Eiselen, of Evanston, takes up the activity and teaching of the eighth century prophets, with the view of showing by one concrete example the "permanent significance of the Old Testament and the perfect adaptability of its messages to the conditions that confront the minister of the Gospel to-day". There are other very readable papers in this number, *e.g.*, one by Dr. G. M. Hughes on "Samuel Taylor Coleridge, a Religious Teacher," and one by Dr. S. E. Sears on "The Bible in *Evangeline*".

The following publications also require notice. *First Steps in Hebrew Grammar with Exercises and Vocabularies*,[1] by Michael Adler, B.A., a clear and simple outline, judiciously constructed and admirably printed, which should be of great use to those beginning the study of Hebrew. It is the work of an experienced teacher, whose *Student's Hebrew Grammar* has been well received; *The Preacher's Magazine*, volume xiv.,[2] a volume that well maintains the reputation which the magazine has enjoyed under the skilful editorship of Dr. Arthur E. Gregory, full of matter, wisely selected and admirably adapted to be of service to all different classes of preachers, teachers and Bible students; *Monument Facts and Higher Critical Fancies*,[3] by A. H. Sayce, LL.D., D.D.,

[1] London: David Nutt, 1904. Pp. viii.+113. Price 2s.

[2] London: C. H. Kelly, 1903. 8vo, pp. 580. Price 5s.

[3] London: The Religious Tract Society, 1904. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 127.

Professor of Assyriology in the University of Oxford, a small book by a veteran scholar, which gives in brief compass a statement of the more important results of recent archæological discoveries, discusses their bearing upon the debated questions of the age, authenticity and historical work of the Old Testament books, and delivers some thrusts at the "school of sceptical theorists who have arrogated the title of 'critics' to themselves"—a statement and a discussion which will be easily read and which present in a strong light certain aspects of the important questions at issue which have to be looked at; *The Second Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians*,[1] edited by A. Plummer, M.A., D.D., sometime Master of University College, Durham, formerly Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford, a section of the "Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges," prepared for this special use by the competent and experienced hand to which we owe the exposition of the Greek text reviewed in our July issue, and having substantially the same contents as the Commentary in the "Cambridge Greek Testament" series; *The Point of Contact in Teaching*,[2] by Patterson Du Bois, an expansion of a small monograph published in 1896 under the title of *Beginning at the Point of Contact*, written with a view to the improvement of educational standards in the Sunday School, and containing much that is suggestive and helpful as regards the way in which the young mind is to be reached, the attention secured, and interest excited; *Outlines of Pastoral Theology for Young Ministers and Students*,[3] translated and edited by the late Rev. William Hastie, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, a small book containing much good, practical counsel on the conduct of the Christian ministry, which came into Dr. Hastie's hands in a very singular manner in India, the

[1] Cambridge: at the University Press, 1903. Extra Fcap. 8vo, pp. xlii. + 156.

[2] London: Sunday School Union, 1904. Pp. xiii. + 131. Price 2s. 6d.

[3] Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 78. Price 1s. 6d. net.

origin and authority of which remain so obscure that all he could say of it, after extensive inquiry, was that it "embodies the collective wisdom of associated pastors of the Church of the Moravians or United Brethren, and most probably of that 'band' or section called the Reformed, as distinguished from the Lutheran section and the Moravian section proper with which Zinzendorf himself had most and Bengel had least sympathy"; *Church, Ministry and Sacraments in the New Testament*,[1] by W. T. Whitley, M.A., LL.D., the work of one who thinks that the "witness of history to Baptist principles is worth considering," but who rejoices in the testimony given of late in various quarters to the fact that all divisions of Evangelical Christians are at one with regard to the general conception of the Church in its constitution, its sacraments and its ministry. The method followed in the book is that of an examination of all the passages, whether in the New Testament or in the Old, which bear upon the question. In some cases passages are included which have a remote or questionable relevancy, and the exposition in not a few cases can hardly be regarded as scientific. But, in what amounts to a running commentary on a large part of Scripture, many just observations are made, and good sense asserts itself throughout; *Reports of the Mosely Educational Commission to the United States of America*, October-December, 1903,[2] a publication of great importance to all interested in educational questions, containing a vast amount of information carefully collected, and many valuable suggestions springing out of it, a storehouse out of which much may be drawn for instruction and guidance on this side of the Atlantic; *Paradosis*, or "In the Night in which He was ? Betrayed,"[3] by Edwin A. Abbott, the fourth part of the elaborate discussions to which Dr. Abbott has given the name of *Diatessarica*. The title *Paradosis* which is

[1] London: The Kingsgate Press, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. 286.

[2] London: published for the Proprietor by the Co-operative Printing Society, Limited, 1904. 8vo, pp. 400. Price 1s.

[3] London: Adam & Charles Black, 1904. 8vo, pp. xxiii.+216. Price 7s. 6d. net.

given it, is explained to have the sense of "the delivering up of the Son by the Father for the redemption of mankind". The main thesis of the book is that the earliest Gospels—but not St. Paul nor St. Peter's First Epistle, nor the Fourth Gospel—have occasionally confused this with the delivering up of Jesus by Judas to the servants of Caiaphas. So it is argued that in the Lord's Supper the Son delivered up to His brethren, and for His brethren, what Clement of Alexandria called His "complete Self"; that St. Paul's words "in the night in which He was betrayed," should be rendered "in the night in which He was *delivered up* [*by the Father as a sacrifice for sinners*]"; and that our Lord Himself "did not use the word in the sense of 'betray' in the Gospels, when He predicted His Passion and Resurrection, but always (in such cases) in the sense of 'deliver up'." One cannot but admire the laboriousness of these inquiries and the curious ingenuity which so often appears in them. But we cannot follow the versatile writer in his methods of criticism, which are to a large extent arbitrary and imaginative, neither can we regard him as having made out his main contention in this volume; *The Englishwoman's Year Book and Directory*, 1904,[1] edited by Emily Janes, being the sixth year of the new issue and the twenty-fourth of the whole, a useful and reliable compilation full of information which will satisfy the curious and meet the requirements of those who consult it with a practical purpose, admirably edited by the organising secretary of the National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland; *Ossian's Lebensanschauung*,[2] by Dr. H. Jellinghaus, Realschuldirektor in Osnabrück, an interesting sketch of the Ossianic controversy, the influence exercised by the Ossianic poetry, particularly in Germany, through Klopstock, Herder and Goethe, and the religious ideas expressed in the writings. In dealing with the last of these subjects the author takes up the line of inquiry begun by Ebrard of Erlangen; another

[1] London: Adam & Charles Black, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxv.+352.

[2] Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904. 8vo, pp. 61. Price 1s. 6d. net.

section, being half-volume vii., of the *Natural History of Animals*,[1] an instructive and attractive description of the animal life of the world in its various aspects and relations, written by the competent hand of Professor J. R. Ainsworth Davis, of University College, Aberystwith, admirably printed by the Gresham Publishing Company, and enriched with a multitude of clear and telling illustrations; *Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus*,[2] by Dr. Georgius Karo and Lic. Johannes Lietzmann, a republication from the *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1902, Heft 1, 3, 5, containing careful lists of Greek catenæ (with particulars regarding them) first in the Old Testament Scriptures and then in the New, a laborious compilation which will be of use to specialists in more than one line of Biblical study; *Der Sabbat im Alten Testament und im altjüdischen Aberglauben*,[3] by Lic. Theol. Fredrich Bohn, a painstaking inquiry into the origin of the word, the history of the institution as it appears in the Old Testament books, the place and significance given to holy days and seasons in the ethnic religions, the religious meaning of the Babylonio-Assyrian *Sabattu*, and the restrictions connected with the Sabbath law in the times of the Maccabees and in the Judaism of the subsequent centuries; *The Expositor*,[4] edited by W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D., sixth series, volume ix., full as before of varied and instructive matter. Among many contributions which might be referred to as able and opportune, special attention may be directed to Professor J. H. Moulton's very valuable series on "Characteristics of New Testament Greek," and Professor Ramsay's fresh and suggestive papers on the "Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia Minor". Dr. George Milligan writes on "The Authenticity

[1] London: The Gresham Publishing Company, 1904. Large 8vo, pp. xvi.+260. Price 7s. net.

[2] London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo.

[3] Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1903. Pp. 97. Price 2s.

[4] London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians," and Professor W. L. Davidson, of the University of Aberdeen, on "The Bible Story of Creation: a Phase of the Theistic Argument". Professor W. H. Bennett's papers on "The Life of Christ according to St. Mark" also contain much that is of interest; *Mediæval England*,[1] 1066-1350, a volume contributed to "The Story of the Nations" series by Mary Bateson, Associate and Lecturer of Newnham College, Cambridge, richly illustrated and giving a vivid and well-written account of Norman Feudalism and Decadent Feudalism, with telling sketches of the court, the nobility, the clergy, the tillers of the soil, the burgesses, the farming, the education, the art, the learning and the literature of the period, and the ways of life in palace, castle, monastery and town. The book is a delightful one to read; *Η Καινη Διαθηκη, Text with critical Notes*,[2] a small, handy, and very tasteful edition of the Greek New Testament issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society. It follows the fourth edition of the text published first by the Bible Society of Württemburg at Stuttgart in 1898, permission having been granted by that Society to publish it in England under the supervision of Professor Eberhard Nestle. The book will be very useful for students. It is especially valuable as giving a collation of three of the most important recensions of the Greek text, *viz.*, those of Tischendorf's eighth edition, Westcott and Hort, and Bernhard Weiss; *Faith and Morals*,[3] by Wilhelm Herrmann, D.D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the University of Marburg, a volume of the very useful series known as the "Crown Theological Library," giving a very good translation of two of Professor Herrmann's most interesting and most practical addresses, prefaced by a short biographical note. The first address

[1] London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvii.+448. Price 5s.

[2] London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1904.

[3] Translated from the German by Donald Matheson, M.A., and Robert W. Stewart, M.A., B.Sc. London: Williams & Norgate, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii.+415. Price 5s.

deals with Ritschl's view of faith, bringing out among other things the fact that Ritschl held faith to be submission to an authoritative revelation and to involve a special experience of God; that it does imply the "intellectual appropriation of every idea in the Bible"; and that the "Church must distinguish the faith responsive to God's revelation from an assent to doctrines". The second address, which deals with the "Moral Law," and makes the bulk of the volume, is one of very considerable importance, both on its merits and because, as the translator puts it, it "seems to present a large part of Professor Herrmann's message to his time". It is a somewhat elaborate and certainly a very penetrating comparison of the ideas of the moral law entertained in Romanism and in Protestantism respectively, with the object of getting to fundamental truth on the subject of morality. The reply given by Dr. Joseph Mausbach to the criticism of the Roman Catholic scheme of ethics is noticed at length, and the criticisms of Liguori, Adloff and others, the discussion of probabilism, and much else in the volume are of great interest; *The Value of the Bible and other Sermons* (1902-1904), *with a Letter to the Lord Bishop of London*,[1] by H. Hensley Henson, B.D., Canon of Westminster and Rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster, a collection of twenty-one discourses which deal with a wide range of subjects, Old Testament and New, doctrinal, apologetic, ethical and practical, and give abundant proof of Canon Henson's preaching gifts. Without going very deep they keep the attention by the worth and vitality of the ideas and the force of the expression given to them. Among the best are those on "The Open Mind," "The Wonderful Conversion," "The Faith that is Blessed," and "Caiaphas". Canon Henson has much to say on criticism and its rights, and to the statement which he gives of the general principles no objection can be taken. He insists largely, *e.g.*, on the fact that the New Testament writings cannot be withdrawn from

[1] London: Macmillan & Co., 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxii.+333. Price 6s.

the critical sifting to which the Old Testament books have been subjected, and that the methods applicable in the latter case must be followed also in the former. This no one will question. But it is different when one looks at the results which the Canon appears to consider established by these critical methods. In the case of the narratives of the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection, and certain passages belonging to the heart of the Gospel story as it is given by the Evangelists, his tendency is to accept too readily the most negative conclusions and to give up somewhat precipitately the historical veracity of the reports. And this again drives him in upon purely subjective *criteria* of the truth of what is recorded of Christ. He falls back on the internal certitude, *e.g.*, which the Christian has of the reality of Christ's Resurrection, and which is thought to be independent of objective evidence in the witness of history. Even on the subject of our Lord's sinlessness, while he holds that hitherto nothing has been done by criticism to invalidate it, he seems to take refuge in an "interior certitude," and would "crave forgiveness for even seeming to suggest that the faith by which Christians have assurance of their Master's right to their worship depends on an appeal to documents, however authoritative and venerable". Apart from some exaggerated ways of putting things, and a certain inexactness of thought which appears now and again, these sermons, however, are admirable examples of telling popular discourse; *The Letters of John Hus*,[1] with introductions and explanatory notes by Herbert B. Workman, M.A., Principal of Westminster Training College, etc., and R. Martin Pope, M.A., a valuable and most welcome addition to our English literature on the great Bohemian Reformer, by which at last we get an adequate translation of a correspondence of great and varied interest. Both authors have done their part well. The English rendering, which is mainly Mr. Pope's, has been executed with much skill. The translator is to be

[1] London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxi.+286. Price 6s.

congratulated on his work; for the peculiarities of the style of these compositions and the abundant occurrence in them of words uncertain in their application and exceedingly open to misunderstanding must have made his task one of very unusual difficulty. Mr. Workman, again, is an acknowledged master in the story of the Bohemian movement and the part played in it by Hus, and he has given us of his best in this volume. What he says of the *Letters* and their writer in his Introduction, he can say with authority, and he has done all that careful research renders possible in presenting the *Letters* in their historical setting and in illustrating their import. As they are now presented to us by the hand of a most competent editor, they help us to understand the Reformer better than before. They show "the whole man," as the authors rightly say in their Preface, "in all his strength and tenderness and, we may add, his weakness". They have not only the value of important historical documents but also the personal interest of so many passages in the history of a soul; *Sünde und Erlösung nach biblischer und babylonischer Anschauung*,[1] by Privatdocent Dr. Johannes Hehn, a very useful volume which brings together in handy form the most distinctive utterances of the Hebrew spirit and the Babylonian on the great questions of *Sin* and *Redemption*, puts us in the position of comparing them for ourselves, and provides us with important materials for determining the relation, whether of dependence or originality, in which the Bible stands to the ancient Babylonian faith. Dr. Hehn's own conclusion is that in the story of Tiamat and the powers of Chaos we have the primitive Babylonian view of sin, and in Marduk, the Babylonian victor or redeemer; that the two traditions, the Babylonian and the Biblical, coincide in the idea of a revolt against God; but that there is this great difference between the two—that in the Babylonian tradition the idea of redemption is a purely naturalistic one and the deliverance from sin and sickness is conceived to be effected in a magical way, while in the Biblical doctrine the Redeemer accomplishes redemption by self-sacrifice, and the re-

[1] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. 8vo, pp. vii.+62. Price M.1.60.

demption itself is set forth as a spiritual deliverance carrying with it the moral renewal and transformation of its subjects; *Things Fundamental*,[1] by Charles Edward Jefferson, pastor of Broadway Tabernacle, New York City—a course of thirteen discourses on Modern Apologetics, discussing the great questions of the Nature and Place of Faith, and of Reason in the Christian Life, the Cause of the Present Uneasiness in the Christian Church, How the Old Conception of the Scriptures differs from the New, the Deity of Jesus, Miracles, the Forgiveness and the Punishment of Sin, the Church of the Living God, the Immortality of the Soul, and the Power and Work of the Holy Spirit. These topics are handled in a frank, popular style, in a perfectly reverent spirit, with a just apprehension of the thoughts suggested by them to the average mind and the considerations most likely to bring relief where doubt or difficulty is felt. The book deserves cordial recommendation; *Immortality a Rational Faith*,[2] by William Chester, former co-pastor of Phillips (Madison Avenue) Presbyterian Church, New York City, and former pastor of Immanuel Presbyterian Church, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, a very able statement of the reasonableness of our faith in a future life, in the light of the predictions of science, philosophy and religion. The author starts with the principle that none of the arguments in behalf of the belief in man's enduring life is sufficient if taken by itself; that "no one of these arguments alone carries conviction to all minds at all times"; but that the case becomes different when we take them together and look at their cumulative force. He proceeds to give a careful estimate of what science, philosophy and religion respectively have to say or suggest on this great question, when each is interrogated by itself. The result is reached that "when it takes the grand cumulative argument, commencing and grounding itself in the hard, cold domain of science, rising up through the vast realm of philosophy to the moral

[1] London: S. C. Brown, Langham & Co., 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 372. Price 6s.

[2] Chicago, New York, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company. Cr. 8vo, pp. 207. Price 3s. 6d. net.

and theological climax, faith then finds she has a solid pyramid of confirmed truth on which to rest". An interesting chapter is added on the conditions of life after death; *The Teaching of the Gospel of John*,[1] by J. Ritchie Smith, minister of Market Square Presbyterian Church, Harrisburg, Pa., an exposition of the doctrinal contents of the Fourth Gospel, marked by unquestionable ability, popular in style, and showing throughout a very competent command of the best literature on the subject. The author takes the Gospel to be the work of the Apostle John, and gives a brief, sensible statement on the subject of its trustworthiness and the peculiar form in which the words of Jesus appear in it. He discusses also its relation to the Old Testament, and then takes up the main points in its characteristic teaching. He deals in succession with its Ideas of God, the Word, the Holy Spirit, Sin, Salvation, the New Life, the Church, the End of all Things. The summaries which the author gives of John's doctrine on these subjects are in most respects true to the contents and purpose of the Gospel, and should be of use to many minds. A very good chapter bearing the title of "John and Paul Compared" brings this instructive book to a fitting close; *New Sayings of Jesus and Fragment of a Lost Gospel from Oxyrhynchus*,[2] edited, with translation and commentary, by Bernard P. Grenfell, D.Litt., M.A., etc., and Arthur S. Hunt, D.Litt., M.A., etc., a reprint in the main from *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part iv., Nos. 654 and 655, giving the record of another interesting find which has rewarded the diligence and skill of Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt. It contains, first, certain new sayings of Jesus, with introduction, text, translations, notes and general remarks; second, the *Logia* discovered in 1897; and third, the fragment of a lost Gospel, again with introduction, text, translation, notes and general remarks. The second find, here specially chronicled, of a collection of sayings of Jesus, consists of forty-two incom-

[1] New York, Chicago, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company. Cr. 8vo, pp. 405. Price $1.50 net.

[2] Published for the Egypt Exploration Fund by Henry Frowde, Amen Corner, London, E.C., 1904. 8vo, pp. 45. Price 1s. net.

plete lines on the back of a survey-list of various pieces of land, a plate of which is given as frontispiece to the volume. The date of this new collection is put by the discoverers at the middle or end of the third century. In style and arrangement it is pronounced to be very like the *Logia* of 1897. At the same time there are certain differences. The new collection, *e.g.*, has an introduction which is wanting in the former, and one of the sayings in the recent find is an answer to a question the substance of which is reported. There is also more of a connexion in thought in the second series than in the first. Some difficult and important questions are raised by this discovery, on which Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt do not feel entitled to pronounce a definite judgment. But they do not think that these sayings originated in or circulated among a particular sect. They do not recognise a "post-resurrectional point of view" in them, and they see grave objections to the supposition that they are extracts either from the Gospel according to the Hebrews or from that according to the Egyptians. The views which the happy discoverers themselves take of the reconstruction of the text, the general character of the sayings, and their bearing on the problems of the origin and relations of our Canonical Gospels, seem to us the most reasonable yet suggested, and for the rest we must wait in patience for the results of further study and, it is to be hoped, of further discovery in the rich field of Egyptian exploration.

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Recent Tendencies in American Philosophy.

By Professor W. Caldwell, M.A., D.Sc., McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

We may naturally approach the problem of recent tendencies in American philosophy if we but think of the opposition between Neo-Kantianism (or "Neo-Hegelianism") and Naturalism, between the spirit, say, of Green's *Prolegomena to Ethics* and that of Huxley's *Hume*. Transcendentalism, to be sure, has existed in America since the days of Emerson and those of an early academic interest (Hickok, Bascom, Everett and others) in the writings of Coleridge and Kant and Cousin, in distinction to the still earlier absorption in the spirit of the Scottish Philosophy (maintained as late as the eighties at Princeton by McCosh). The most celebrated expounder of post-Kantian idealism a generation ago in America, however, was doubtless W. T. Harris[1] (he is the Nestor of Hegelianism in America very much as Hutchison-Stirling is in England), in whose *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* were to be found many valuable expositions and translations and criticisms of the literature of Transcendental Idealism long before the average American or even the average British student could approach this for himself in the original German. Soon after this there arose several young enthusiastic teachers of philosophy, such as Watson,[2] Clark-Murray,[3] and Royce,[4] and Morris,[5] and Howison,[6] and Schurmann,[7] and Dewey,[8] and others, who set forth the principles of the Kanto-Hegelian philosophy in appropriate manuals and lectures and essays.[9] On the other hand, there was John Fiske,[10] the brilliant lecturer and man of letters, the ardent disciple and populariser of the philosophy of Herbert Spencer, the friend of both Huxley and Spencer,

who until his recent death occupied a foremost place in American literature on account not only of his philosophical but also of his historical activity. Fiske's *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy* were to many people for many years a clearer and more comprehensible account of the evolutionary philosophy than were the earlier writings of Herbert Spencer himself. The work of the propagandism of Naturalism soon transformed itself, however, into the more sober process of the gradual absorption of the facts of the natural sciences, first of biology [11] and then of physiological and physical psychology, and now recently of the sociological sciences. This is illustrated in the pioneer work of Ladd [12] (his *Elements of Physiological Psychology* for years took the place of Wundt for English-reading students) and of Stanley Hall.[13] The latter gathered around himself, first at Johns Hopkins and then later at Clark University, a host of workers and colleagues like Cattell,[14] Sanford,[15] Donaldson,[16] Dewey, Hyslop [17] and others, who have since made contributions of great value to psychology and to the cause of philosophy in this country.

In thus suggesting the extent to which the attention of American students and teachers (it was at its height about 1890, when, owing to the energy and the ability of Dr. J. S. Schurmann, the Sage School of Philosophy and the *Philosophical Review*, agencies of the greatest educational potency in the last decade, were instituted at Cornell University) was divided between the newer psychology and the epistemology of Critical Rationalism, I by no means intend to imply that either rounded Idealism [18] or rounded Materialism had ceased to exist, or that the fashionable creed of Monism [19] was not preparing itself to engulf them both, or that there were not in chairs of philosophy and theology men who were faithfully serving philosophy by keeping themselves clear of all mere *Tendenzen* and by remaining loyal to classicism or realism [20] as they understood these terms.

While the first interests of the Newer [21] Psychology were almost exclusively centred upon a psycho-physical study of the relations existing between sensations and their *stimuli*

(or conditions), or upon the problems of cerebral psychology and of the psychology of the special senses, the progress of science has opened up many other avenues of psychological research in which American investigators have done their full share of successful work. In addition to the early (1) *structural psychology*, the morphology of psychology, the analysis of the structure of mind, the "isolation of the constituents in the given conscious function," Experimental Psychology in the strict sense, Professor Titchener [22] (Cornell University, one of our leading experimentalists who has kept more devotedly and persistently than almost any of his compeers to the experimental point of view) notices (2) *functional psychology*, the study of mental processes as "shaped and moulded under the conditions of the physical organism," (3) *ontogenetic psychology*, the "psychology of individual childhood and adolescence," (4) *taxonomic psychology*, the classification of emotions, instincts, impulses, temperaments, the hierarchy of "selves," the typical mind of social classes, artists, soldiers, etc., (5) *collective psychology*, the study of the mind of the crowd, the nation, the society, etc., (6) *phylogenetic psychology*, the psychology of racial development.[23] And then we can point to work upon the psychology of religion,[24] the psychology of abnormal [25] man, the psychology of suggestion,[26] and so on. In the leading universities in the country the course in psychology is manipulated by from two to six or seven experts, and the student is also referred to related courses in the apartments of neurology, physiology, zoology, anthropology, sociology, theology, etc. All this represents an activity and an output that is having the greatest influence upon our general philosophy of human nature, upon education, upon popular thinking and upon social reform. In no country in the world is there such a premium put upon the "psychic factors" in civilisation, upon the differential advantage of mind and method and contrivance and upon "psychic control" as in America, and the protagonists in the study of mind have a veritable army of camp-followers and disciples and sympathisers in the founders of metaphysical cults, the woman's clubs, the teachers, the clergy

(regular and irregular), the preachers of "humanism," the philanthropists, the subjugators and "expansionists," the students of the art of government, the managers of reform schools, prisons, asylums, and so on. So much is this the case that two [27] of our leading psychologists, who are remarkable for the exacting manner in which they write of the necessities of science in relation to the necessities of life (the question is really a phase of the *epistemology* and the *methodology* of our passing critical age), have found it necessary to formulate their protests against hasty and indiscriminating attempts to apply "psychological" methods and results to concrete problems and conditions of all kinds, and against an over-credulous or objectionally intellectualistic ("cultural") faith in psychical theory as such.

Although it is quite a decade since American representatives of *general* psychology joined their British colleagues (*e.g.*, Ward and Pringle-Pattison) in taking exception to many of the assumptions and results of those who regard psychology as merely a natural science, one of the most characteristic trends in recent thought is the length to which this attitude has been carried by Münsterberg, long one of the most independent of Wundt's pupils, who nevertheless claims to stand nearer to the master than any of the rest. Münsterberg's way of putting matters is that the "presentationist" [28] or "atomistic" or "associational" account of mental phenomena is never for a moment to be taken as an account of what really takes place in the mind, nor indeed as any kind of reality whatsoever, but rather as a *transformation* of psychical realities for the descriptive purposes of science. The triumph of modern psychology in his eyes is "to master even the best in man, the will, and to dissolve even the will into its atomic sensations and their causal unfree play". It is perhaps needless to attempt to sketch the constitution of the realm of psychic atoms into which Münsterberg would reduce psychological phenomena. As a matter of fact, this would be a task of extreme difficulty for even the most careful student of the *Grundzüge der Psychologie* (its author prefers German to English for scientific or polemical purposes)

The reason is that psychic facts (being, in Münsterberg's opinion, "observable by but one subject," "timeless," "non-quantitative," "without causal interconnexion") can be set forth and described and explained only by their physical counterparts—Münsterberg's version of the theory of parallelism. Our interest is rather in his outspoken and elaborately developed theory that psychology must necessarily give a *transformed*[29] and therefore so far an unreal account of our mental life. Such an account is, to be sure, believed by him to be *in the service* of the practical life, of the purposes of our active selves as these are interpreted by the "subjectifying" sciences (psychology being an "objectifying" science) of history, æsthetics and so on (*die Geisteswissenschaften*—here Münsterberg adopts the standpoint of Fichte's early moral idealism), although many of his critics fail to see how such an arbitrarily fictitious, such an atomistic and semi-physical account of the mental life can be of service even to science, not to mention the practical life and its interests. Whatever else may be said for or against it, Münsterberg's atomistic psychology is the result of certain hypotheses of his own (wherein to be sure freedom must be allowed him) regarding mental processes in relation to our purposive activity and in relation to physical processes. Taken along with the confessions and concessions of other American psychologists, his procedure is but new confirmation of the position that while different psychological disciplines have different standpoints regarding mental process, the *complete* account of such process can be furnished only by the philosopher of mind who makes a synthesis of various partial standpoints, or only by a psychology that is so broad in its scope and so clearly conscious of mental life as an organic whole that it is essentially what in Hegelian language may be called a phenomenology of mind. I do not say that we can as yet point to any psychologist of prominence in America whose treatment of psychology can fairly be called that of a phenomenology of mind unless we are willing to concede the term psychologist to philosophers[30] who write upon certain aspects of psychology which they may fairly claim to have

mastered, or unless we take "social" (or "genetic") psychology to be the whole of psychology. But I do say that the present defence of the "experimental" point of view as only a "point of view" about mind, and the present halting procedure of the average psychologist (of alternating between different points of view), is tantamount to the position that general psychology must be associated with a general philosophy of mind. It is significant that a good recent manual[31] has taken the ground that the business of psychology is to study consciousness not merely as a series of mental processes but "as a relation of conscious selves to one another".

Turning for a moment to *genetic* psychology (since Aristotle's *De Anima* the natural avenue to "teleology" and philosophy proper), we are aware that a plausible feature of the evolutionary philosophy has long been its vaunted competency to show how our whole psychical world with its ideas and ideals and institutions has slowly developed itself out of a "sub-human" world of struggle and conflict and association. There is to be seen in many recent American writers the same effort as that with which we are familiar in the writings of Schopenhauer, Haeckel, Topinard, Huxley, Sutherland and others, either to bridge the chasm between the sub-human and the human by the play of a gradual development, or to point out in human association[32] the controlling and determining influence of certain differential factors and conditions. A work from which it may be learned how a *quasi*-evolutionary or genetic account of individual and social development does not ultimately conflict with the traditional idealistic account of morality or with an idealistic philosophy of society is the highly original and suggestive volume of Professor J. M. Baldwin entitled *Social and Ethical Interpretations of Mental Development.* The most striking and the most relevant contribution to contemporary philosophy by this work is its exposition of the fact that there are at work in society and in social organisation *largely those same factors* (imitation, invention, the "absorption" of "personal material") *that organise and develop the life of the individual*, and of the fact that (so far as the

characteristic fact of mind is concerned) we never do and never can think of the 'self' (ego) without at the same time thinking of the 'other' (*alter*). The 'self,' Baldwin maintains, is always one pole or term of a relation [between self and other] existing *within* the consciousness of human beings who (naturally and reflectively) regard themselves as sharers in a common (physical and mental) life. When we grasp this truth we can see that it is, as Tarde [a worker on lines similar to those of Baldwin] puts it, as much an *inconcussum quid*, as much a principle of personal thought, as the *cogito ergo sum* of Descartes. The *ego* is indeed nothing without the thought of the *alter*, the *meum* without the *tuum*. We can, too, if we reflect, see that it is this thought that constitutes the rational basis for that spiritual philosophy of society that emanated in both a practical and a theoretical way (in Toynbee and his movement as well as in Ritchie and Mackenzie and Bosanquet) from the teaching of that remarkable man whose thought has meant so much for England and America, T. H. Green. This social conception of the *ego* (it is in Hegel to be sure as it is in the New Testament, only Baldwin has been the first to show its importance for the facts of personal development) is not only additional material for the philosopher who is to generalise the psychologising of the last two generations, but is also a most important consideration for those who seek to effectuate the much-needed transition in philosophy from *Monism* (whether idealistic or naturalistic) to *pluralism*—to a theory of being that allows for the harmonious development of the lives of different persons instead of the mere life of a single thinker or a single supreme consciousness. The self that Neo-Kantians proudly looked upon as the "source of the categories" and the key to all reality has through an unconscious logic been too readily identified with the self of the ordinary individual or with that of the supreme self-consciousness of the universe. If on the contrary the key to the self and the eternally personal world that we inhabit from our birth to our death ('totemism,' Christian baptism, the phenomena of adolescence, etc., all suggest this) is to be found in the consciousness of a "*self-*

situation" that is "common" to different persons in a realm of persons, then we ought to incorporate in our epistemological[33] philosophy the principle of a pluralistic conception of being as the key to all ontology. This inference has been confirmed again and again by the turning of so many of our representative thinkers from Hegel to Leibniz, and it has been lately confirmed anew by Mr. McTaggart's ingenious interpretation of the Hegelian Absolute as a society.

A more complete development of the epistemological conception of science and scientific hypothesis, in conjunction with the social conception of the ego and in entire conformity with the spirit of Critical Idealism, is to be found in the epoch-marking (epoch-making, in some respects) *Gifford Lectures* (at Aberdeen) of Professor Royce, of Harvard University—an admirable instance of the inevitable co-operation that exists between the two great groups of workers of our common Anglo-Saxondom. *The World and the Individual* the writer is inclined to regard as one of the most important recent manifestations of the progressive idealism of American and British workers since the time of Green. In addition to a certain hardness and rigidity and a certain obscurity and mysticism, this work has many of the drawbacks incidental to a combination of the lecture and the research method, but in its scholarship and its sustained dialectic ability it stands a peer to the *Naturalism and Agnosticism* (the hard-headedness revealed in both works seems peculiarly appropriate to their Aberdeen setting) of Professor Ward, of Cambridge, its predecessor as a *Gifford* output. As an attempt at construction Royce's work begins where the accurately conceived and accurately executed (Cambridge) work of Ward terminates; and on the other hand, Royce would be less hard reading had he said outright that he practically presupposed some finished work (like that of Ward) upon the entire body of the presuppositions of modern science. I have referred to the rational basis for a pluralistic or a social idealism (it takes a theistic turn with Royce that differentiates his results from those of McTaggart) that Royce finds in the social conception of the ego—a

position that he cordially accepts from his friend Baldwin after having himself years ago worked out some interesting psychological matter[34] regarding the influence of the social factor upon our perception of external reality. The *meaning* (*meaning* is Royce's key to all reality whether that of the self or things or God or the animal species) of *my* life must be seen to develop itself in harmony with the purposes and meaning of other lives (God's, my fellow's, my loved one's, my enemy's) that give to my life the appropriate stimulus of opposition or co-operation or completion (idealisation). The reader can but be commended to Royce's two big volumes for the development of this socialised and theologised conception of personality and meaning.

The other line of fundamental reflection in Royce may be called *in the broadest sense of the term*—Pragmatism. As I have already attempted in a recent number of *Mind* (Oct., 1900) a critical study of this celebrated conception of philosophy as set forth by James (Royce's colleague at Harvard), and as the British reader has now the volume of the "Oxford Eight" upon *Personal Idealism* before him, I may be excused with but a passing remark. Generally speaking, Pragmatism is nothing but an extension of the epistemological idea to philosophical as well as to scientific hypotheses; it is the treatment of all hypotheses, whether those of science or of art or of social theory or of philosophy, as subservient to the needs of our complete (mental and moral) development—to the needs of *Appreciation* as opposed to those of mere *Description*. From this it is obvious that Pragmatism professes to pay a somewhat greater attention to the fact of our mental and moral activity than has been customary with Critical Rationalism. The importance to philosophy of the notion of activity was expressed years ago in *Basal Concepts in Philosophy* by Professor Ormond, of Princeton, and it is also emphasised by Professor Ladd in his *Psychology* and in his *Theory of Reality*. Professor Dewey, too, has been largely influential in disseminating the instrumental or the pragmatic conception of philosophy and of ideas as such.[35] "The present work," says Professor Royce, "is a deliberate effort

to bring into synthesis, more fully than I have ever done before, the relations of knowledge and will in our conception of God." In his earlier work Royce had, like so many of us who had turned for our first *insight* to Green and Hegel, preferred the use of the term Thought as the best name for the final unity of the Absolute. Independently of Münsterberg, Royce had in 1892, in his *Spirit of Modern Philosophy*, worked out the distinction between the world of description and the world of appreciation which is now almost a commonplace of American thinkers—it is a modern version of Kant's distinction between *quid juris* and *quid facti*. The needs of "description" to Royce are in every instance (even in the case of an elaborate philosophical system) subservient to the needs of "appreciation" to the comprehension of *meaning*. Rational comprehension, as it were, is but the increased comprehension of the *meaning* that is implied in consciousness whenever we think or feel or act, that is implicit even in the simplest reactions of our organism upon its environment. "Completed self-consciousness"—to use a Hegelian expression—would be to Royce the completed consciousness of meaning (or the consciousness of completed meaning)—an idea that is in harmony with the dynamical conception of being held by modern science as well as modern philosophy. Starting as he does with the organic (or the dynamic) conception of consciousness, it is not hard for him to make a synthesis of the *meaning* of consciousness with the *meaning* that (as we have indicated) is the key to being as such. Begin where we may, he practically contends, life or reality is invariably *meaning*, for neither on the naturalistic nor on the idealistic theory is there any actual or conceivable (complete) separation between the self and its environment (whether physical or social). Thus although Royce ends in a theological pluralism with an immortality for the individual conscious person, his point of departure is that of a monistic attitude, the monism of ideal realism—the position that the datum of consciousness is consciousness of meaning. "Dualism," he says, "in the interpretation of the relation of the self and its environment is wholly laid

aside." In the development of his philosophy that the meaning of the universe is to be found in its meaning relatively to the purposes of conscious lives, Royce makes a speculative effort that in many ways is nothing short of remarkable (although in entire conformity with the best spirit of the Kantian philosophy) to justify the fact of conscious *meaning* in face of the so-called facts of change and sequence and death and of the consciousness of beings that are lower or higher than we in the scale of existence. The student of the difficulties of such topics as "Time and the Hegelian Dialectic," "Evolution and Immortality," "Hegel and Darwin," "Human and Animal Consciousness," will find much ingenious speculative philosophy in these striking attempts at philosophical construction.

It is not one of the least of Royce's merits that he has entered so abundantly into fields where others have laboured, for his book is both radical and catholic. At the same time one of the difficult questions regarding his book is as to the extent to which he, a professedly rational philosopher, is or is not dependent, not so much on the mere theories of other thinkers as on the actual *experience* of others who have entered most deeply into the spirit of pain and sorrow and redemption, and through whose spiritual labours we are enabled to interpret (even rationally) the *meaning* of our lives. But I must not anticipate the findings of those who shall peruse his volumes in the interest of the deeper questions of the philosophy of religion.

[1] Now (since 1889) U.S. Commissioner of Education. The *Jour. Spec. Phil.* was started at St. Louis in 1867—nine years ahead of *Mind*. It does not seem to have appeared regularly since 1878. E. Caird, Hutchison-Stirling, Watson, Royce, James, T. Davidson, Morris, all contributed to it.

[2] Professor J. Watson, of Kingston, Canada. *Kant and his English Critics* (1881). *An Outline of Philosophy* (1898, 2nd ed.)—a valuable introduction to Idealism through studies of Comte, Mill, Spencer. Watson's most widely read book, however, is *Christianity and Idealism*—a fresh and interesting presentation of Idealism, with answers to criticisms old and new.

[3] Professor J. Clark-Murray for about thirty years the honoured teacher of philosophy in McGill University, Montreal, Canada—a Scotchman, born in Paisley and educated in Glasgow under Veitch and Caird. *Introduction to Ethics*, 1891 (London). Also a work on psychology, and numerous essays in the *Phil. Rev.* and *Int. Jour. Ethics*.

[4] See towards the close of this article.

[5] Geo. S. Morris, formerly professor, University of Michigan. "Kant's *Critique*" in Morris' *Phil. Classics* (Griggs, Chicago).

[6] Professor S. H. Howison, California. *Limits of Evolution*, 1901. *Conception of God*, 1897.

[7] President (formerly Professor) G. G. Schurmann, Cornell University. *Kantian Ethics and the Ethics of Evolution*, 1881. *Ethical Import of Darwinism*, 1888. *Belief in God*, 1890.

[8] Professor J. Dewey, University of Chicago (also Director, School of Pedagogy). *Psychology*, 1890. *Critical Theory of Ethics*. *Study of Ethics*. The last two suggest an ingenious reconciliation of the idealistic and the evolutionistic point of view. Like W. T. Harris and N. Murray Butler (Columbia Univ.), Dewey has a wide influence as an educational philosopher, lecturer and teacher. His *School and Society*, although a mere booklet, sets forth in an interesting way the relation of the cultural and the technical conceptions of education. See also numerous articles in the *Phil. Rev.*

[9] Many of the works of these teachers are still of critical importance and are used by English as well as American students of philosophy.

[10] *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, 1874. In his later works (extremely popular in America, praised by liberal theologians), *The Destiny of Man*, *The Idea of God*, and particularly *Through Nature to God*, Fiske manifests a transition from naturalistic to idealistic evolution. Regarding Fiske's historical work (*The American Revolution*, etc.), a critic in the *Nation* (July, 1900) remarks: "We presume no other man did so much to correct the old popular notions about the philosophy of the American Revolution. To Fiske, as to the clearest-headed English writers, as to Lecky, Sir George Trevelyan and John Morley, the revolution of the American colonies was simply an episode in the English struggle for liberty."

[11] Among works from the biological side that are of importance to the philosopher may be mentioned *From the Greeks to Darwin* (H. Osborn), *The Foundations of Zoology* W. K. Brooks).

[12] Professor G. T. Ladd (Yale University). One of the most persistent workers at philosophy and science, and a voluminous author. His subsequent work, *Psychology, Descriptive and Explanatory*, has been called by Titchener the best American psychology.

[13] President (and Professor) G. Stanley Hall, Clark University (an institution devoted almost entirely to research). Co-editor *American Journal of Psychology* and of the *Pedagogical Seminary*.

[14] Professor J. McK. Cattell, Director of the Department of Psychology, Columbia University, New York City, joint-editor of *Psychological Review*, editor of *Science* and the *Popular Science Monthly*, a man of far-reaching influence as investigator, essayist and academician.

[15] Professor E. C. Sanford, Clark University. *A Course in Experimental Psychology*—a work commended by Titchener and others.

[16] Professor H. H. Donaldson, University of Chicago. *The Growth of the Brain* (Int. Scient. Series).

[17] Professor J. H. Hyslop, Columbia University, author of text-books on *Logic* and *Ethics*, a treatise on *Democracy*, numerous articles upon psychical research.

[18] See, *e.g.*, the earlier works of Professor Royce. *The Religious Aspect of Philosophy* (1885), and *The Spirit of Modern Philosophy* (1892).

[19] See the *Monist* (issued quarterly) and the writings of its editor, Dr. Paul Carus (*Fundamental Problems, Primer of Philosophy*, etc.), and the publications of the "Open Court," Chicago. The *Monist* is a richly endowed publication and commands the services of the best American and European thinkers upon all subjects relating to science and philosophy. It is indispensable to the student of Monism.

[20] *E.g.*, in different ways by Ladd, McCosh (a generation ago), President F. L. Patton (McCosh's successor), Ormond, Griffin (Professor at Johns Hopkins—see article "Psychology and Natural Science," *Presbyt. and Reformed Review*, Oct., 1901). Ladd in his *Theory of Reality* tells in an interesting way of his philosophical development of the high hopes he once had from psycho-physical study and of the modification of these in the direction of a belief in the uniqueness and independence of the life of mind. President Patton, through his work as a philosophical and theological teacher and as a brilliant controversialist, has had great influence in the direction of a realism regarding human and Divine personality.

[21] See *The New Psychology*, by E. W. Scripture, of Yale University (Col. Science Series).

[22] See "Postulates of a Structural Psychology," *Phil. Rev.*, vii., 449—in reply to the article of mine upon his (Titchener's) book.

[23] *Outlines of Psychology* (1897, Macmillan & Co.) is one of the freshest and clearest manuals upon structural psychology (I discuss the view of the self taken by the book, *Psych. Rev.*, July, 1898—paper before Amer. Psych. Ass.). Also *Experimental Psychology*—in two volumes (Macmillan & Co., 1901), evidently our most complete and replete English manual—a monument of industry.

[24] Starbuck (E. D.), *Psychology of Religion* (Col. Science Series). Coe (G. A.), *The Spiritual Life* (New York, 1900, Eaton of Maine). And James' much-discussed *Gifford Lectures, The Varieties of Religious Experience.*

[25] Macdonald, *Abnormal Man.* Kellor, *Experimental Sociology* (New

York, 1901, Macmillan). (Application of psycho-physics to study of paupers, criminals, etc.)

[26] Sidis (B.), *The Psychology of Suggestion.*

[27] Münsterberg, *Psychology and Life*, a highly interesting attempt to separate the conceptions of psychology from the conceptions of our real life. Jastrow, *Fact and Fable in Psychology* (Boston, 1900)—an important attempt to determine the legitimate subject-matter of psychology in distinction from many "mystical and legendary" interests. Topics treated of are, *e.g.*, The Modern Occult, Psychical Research, Mental Telegraphy, Deception, Hypnotism, The Mind's Eye, Prepossession, Dreams, etc.

[28] On this point Ward's article (*Mind*, 1893), "Modern Psychology—A Reflexion," will be found instructive. Also Pringle-Pattison's on "The New Psychology and Automatism" in *Man's Place in the Cosmos* (A. Seth).

[29] For a good account of Münsterberg's *Grundzüge* see the review in a recent number of *Mind* by Mr. A. E. Taylor. There has been considerable controversy regarding this volume. In replying to one of his critics (Stratton, in the *Phil. Review*) Münsterberg makes much of the fact that the philosophy of the book was elaborately considered by Otto Ritschl in a recent programme of the University of Bonn—an admission that somehow confirms the reader in his opinion that Münsterberg's attenuation of psychological reality cannot be defended on psychological reasons alone.

[30] See, *e.g.*, W. T. Harris' excellent book upon the *Psychologic Foundations of Education* (Appleton, 1898)—a work that may strongly be recommended, it seems to me, to the teacher or the clergyman desirous of perusing a short modern account of psychology. Harris teaches a psychology of freedom—experimentalism being only a point of view.

[31] Calkins, *Introduction to Psychology* (New York, 1901, Macmillan).

[32] *E.g.*, Lester Ward's *Psychic Factors in Civilisation* (Boston, 1893). S. H. Patten, *Theory of Social Forces* (Annals Am. Acad. Pol. Soc. Science, 1896—discussed by me in *Int. Jour. Ethics*, 1897). E. A. Ross, *Social Control* (Macmillan, 1901). President Butler in his book on *The Meaning of Education* (New York, 1898) bases his theory of education on the fact of the prolongation of the period of infancy in the human species—a fact of which he has elsewhere made much—in general philosophy.

[33] Professor Howison in his *Limits of Evolution* makes an attempt to revive *personal* idealism as distinguished from impersonal monism. See also Watson's *Christianity and Idealism.*

[34] See, *e.g.*, *Phil. Rev.*, iii., pp. 513-545, "The External World and the Social Consciousness".

[35] See *The Significance of the Problem of Knowledge* (University of Chicago Contributions to Philosophy).

Faith and Knowledge.

Sermons by W. R. Inge, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Pp. x. + 292. *Price* 4*s.* 6*d. net.*

The Teaching of Jesus.

By Rev. D. M. Ross, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Pp. 212. *Price* 2*s.*

Someone said recently that we should never preach well until we gave up preaching from texts. This, we presume, was a protest against the way some modern preachers have, of taking a verse or half a verse from the Bible, reading into, or squeezing out of it, three or four moral or religious sentiments, fitting these neatly and prettily together, and then working round to a seemly conclusion on a somewhat deeper note. Is that preaching or is it only sermon-making? The sentiments so crisply stated and so cleverly fitted are, it may be, quite unimpeachable, but they are almost certain to be mere loose and wandering ideas, without root or foundation in deep and consistent thought. After such conjuring with texts and pretty sermonising, Mr. Inge's volume comes to us as a welcome relief. He seems to care almost nothing for the art of arrangement, and his sermons will scarcely be popular; but they are of the very best, solid yet never dull, earnest without being cloudy. The great note of these sermons is their reality. They are entirely without pose or frill. They are the work of a scholar, and above all of a thinker—of one who does not say merely what a text might permit him to say, but speaks out of large knowledge and deep reflection. They are at once an intellectual feast and a spiritual tonic. As to their content, they are not doctrinal, nor are they merely ethical; they deal rather with the

deepest matters of the moral and spiritual consciousness. As the title of the book indicates, the main subject of several of them is faith and knowledge. Mr. Inge has no sympathy with those in our day who decry and distrust the reason and would make the intellect the mere servant of the will. "There must be no *acquiescence*," he says, "in irrational or unscientific beliefs"; and he calls for a resolute discouraging of "the notion that God only begins where nature leaves off". Faith is opposed not to reason but only to sight, and is meant to pass into sight. "That is the goal towards which we ought to be moving continually. . . . We are to wish for, strive for, and expect gradual enlightenment. Therefore, never disparage reason, or play tricks with it, or think of it as an irreligious faculty" (p. 103). "We must therefore accept much on authority; but always with the hope and resolve to diminish, each year that we live, the proportion of truth which we have not yet made our own. We must not be *content* while anything in God's law remains external to us" (p. 162). In like manner Mr. Inge makes a vigorous protest against that divorce between faith and reason which appears in Ritschl and also in Loisy. "A man may accept without hesitation, but he cannot believe, a series of propositions which stultify his intellectual faculties. Such a faith is not loyal submission, it is self-mutilation, inflicting a deep wound on the moral character" (p. 289). Liberal Catholicism "surrenders far too much in order, as it thinks, to get back all. It does not get back all. It saves the Creeds, but loses the Gospels; it emancipates the will, but degrades the intellect. It will be an evil day when the troubled faith of English Churchmen seeks refuge by this road" (p. 292). Mr. Inge quotes more than once the saying of Benjamin Whichcote, the Cambridge Platonist: "It ill becomes us to make our intellectual faculties *Gibeonites*"; which suggests our saying in conclusion that these remarkable sermons owe much of their freshness and richness to the author's unrivalled knowledge of the mystics.

The Teaching of Jesus is the latest, and it is a worthy, addition to the series of Handbooks for Bible Classes edited by Drs. Dods and Whyte. It is at once scholarly and readable. What is more, it comes to us with a delightful atmosphere of freedom. Thus in dealing with the sources, Dr. Ross states freely the results of modern inquiry. The Gospel writers or editors were no mere letter-bound compilers of information, but earnest disciples who wrote with a purpose, and, aiming at the edification of their readers, treated and grouped their materials as they thought best. Their reverence for the Master ensures substantial accuracy, but that they made no fetish of verbal accuracy is plain from the documents themselves. There may also have been later changes or additions which cannot now be traced, and if some scholars have been far too ready to press this possibility into their service for the cutting of knots, "the abuse of this consideration is no reason why it should not be allowed its due weight in the solution of admitted difficulties" (p. 39). These things are familiar to scholars, and if the younger generation is to be led forward to broader and more liberal views of inspiration, a Bible Class handbook is the very place in which they ought to be frankly yet cautiously explained. There is another way too in which Dr. Ross has escaped the touch of the iron hand, by refusing to find in the teaching of Jesus a system of doctrine or a system of ethical precepts. "It is not materials for a structure of doctrine which the teaching of Christ gives us, but suggestions, visions, flashes of insight for the quickening of the heart, and the uplifting of the life. In our eagerness to crush Christ's thoughts into a system we may crush the life out of them, and turn them into the mere dry formulæ of an intellectual creed" (p. 48). "So in Christ's teaching on duty to God, He is not concerned to correct the current teaching by substituting a better system of rules than the old. He throws mere rules into the background, and lays the whole stress upon a childlike attitude towards the Father in heaven. It is therefore more in harmony with the mind of Christ to speak of filial tempers than of duty to God" (pp.

83-84). "What we are to look for therefore in Christ's teaching is not so much laws as to what we are to do, as indications as to what we are to be, not so much precepts as ideals" (p. 102). Guided by such wise and fruitful principles, Dr. Ross not only succeeds in writing freshly on a subject already much written of, but leaves his readers with the sure conviction that the teaching of Jesus is a real and living unity.

JOHN LENDRUM.

1. The Kingship of Love.

By Stopford A. Brooke. London: Isbister & Co., Ltd., 1903. *Cr.* 8*vo*, pp. vii. + 351. *Price* 6*s.*

2. Christ.

By S. D. McConnell, D.D., LL.D., Rector of All Souls' Church, New York. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1904. 8*vo*, pp. vii. + 232. *Price* 5*s. net.*

3. The Philippian Gospel, or Pauline Ideals.

By W. G. Jordan, B.A., D.D. London and Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1904. 12*mo*, pp. 292. *Price* 3*s.* 6*d. net.*

4. The Discipline of Faith.

By Darwell Stone, M.A. London: S. C. Brown, Langham & Co., Ltd., 1904. *Cr.* 8*vo*, pp. viii. + 198. *Price* 3*s.* 6*d.*

5. Astronomical and Historical Chronology.

By William Leighton Jordan. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1904. 8*vo*, pp. 70. *Price* 2*s. net.*

1. ANYTHING from Mr. Brooke's pen is sure to find readers, and those who take up this volume of twenty-five sermons will recognise the author's well-known tolerance of view, disregard of orthodox or traditional dogmas, and cultured literary style. Mr. Brooke's holiday thoughts are well expressed in the opening sermon, "From the Sea to the City," but in this discourse, as in others, we are not led on to any particular conclusion. Topics such as "The Excellent in Christianity," "The Gloom and Brightness of Life," "The Important and Unimportant," indicate the ethical and practical bent of Mr. Brooke's preaching, while his exposure of social evils is given forcibly in the sermon on "Citizen

Sunday". There is little evidence of the author's careful statement or appreciation of Christian dogmas, as in dealing with "Christmas Day and the Lord's Supper". Mr. Brooke's theology is not massive, but his optimism is attractive and his desire to bring all under "The Kingship of Love".

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2. Dr. McConnell is dissatisfied with the view of Christ and of the Christian Church that has been formulated in the creeds and dominated past thinking, and he undertakes in the nine vigorously written chapters of his work to give "a new and independent estimate of Christ". He points out the error and distortion due to our having conceived Christ's teaching from a political instead of a biological standpoint. "Religious thought no longer moves among governmental ideas and legal fictions. It has become biological. In the processes of the spirit the watchwords are not justification but development; not salvation but character; its antitheses are not acquittal and condemnation, but living and perishing" (p. 41). The task before Christ was biological and it was successfully accomplished in the Resurrection, an actual event to which Dr. McConnell gives the highest importance in the course of his argument. It was in virtue of the Resurrection, our author contends, that Christ won His place in history and human regard, and through the Apostles' message "took possession of the minds and imaginations of men who before had no expectation of a future life of any kind" (p. 72). We think that here and at other points Dr. McConnell's assertions are too blunt and unqualified. Nor do we agree that if Christian theology had been formulated by naturalists and scientific men instead of metaphysicians and jurists, "the world would have been spared an incalculable confusion" (p. 87). Dr. McConnell's test of admission to the Christian Church, as implied on his last page, is a very simple and broad one, but we doubt if his biological method in theology and his humanitarian standard of Church fellowship would prevent confusion. Dr. McConnell's criticism of creeds and creed-makers is bold and outspoken, but his work would have

been more valuable had his criticism been calmer and his statements more exact. The Hymn ("Rock of Ages") objected to (p. 44) is neither correctly quoted nor understood. The value of such vigorous criticism as runs through this volume is that it rouses a healthy counter-criticism. With reference to Dr. McConnell's estimate of St. Paul (p. 74), "Never was a more exasperating expounder than he," we can only say the reading of this author leaves us with a different impression.

3. Professor Jordan, of Kingston, Canada, has followed up his earlier volume on "Prophetic Ideas and Ideals" by an equally useful and admirable series of meditations on "Pauline Ideals" as found in the Epistle to the Philippians. The volume pretends to be no more than a series of "simple expository sketches" in thirty-one chapters, but it fulfils this modest aim very successfully and puts the Apostle's great thoughts before us in a lucid, practical and suggestive manner. These expositions abound in teaching and illustration that will serve the preacher's purpose, and the author shows that he has insight also in dealing with Paul's mind and personality. "Of Paul we may say that he gave due prominence to moral character and noble conduct, but his ethics grew out of his theology" (p. 267). With not less truth and point it is said on a later page—"He was the great constructive genius of his age. He believed thoroughly in the rights of the individual reason and conscience, while no one preached more powerfully the great truth that we are members one of another." Professor Jordan's exposition is to be welcomed for the light it throws on "The Philippian Gospel" and as a timely contribution to the needs of to-day.

4. The *Sermons and Addresses* by Rev. Darwell Stone, Pusey Librarian, form one of the volumes of "The World's Pulpit Series". They are not marked by special freshness or thoughtfulness, and indeed most of them "were preached without having been written". Eleven of the seventeen

addresses published were given in a "Retreat," and the topics chosen—"The Call of God," "Sin," "Humility," etc.—are handled with devout and appropriate seriousness. Mr. Stone writes on topics of real interest but hardly with sufficient thoroughness. It would require the sententious gifts of Lord Bacon to comprise a sermon (preached at Ordination) on "Loyalty to Christ" in four small pages!

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5. Mr. Jordan, the author of the little book on *Astronomical and Historical Chronology*, is a member of many learned societies, and seems well qualified to take part in "The Battle of the Centuries," and to state the argument of the astronomers for calling the year immediately before 1 A.D. the year 0 instead of (the vulgar reckoning) 1 B.C. The author in concluding his able and abstruse discussion, remarks—"If 1 B.C. is to be allowed to continue to immediately precede 1 A.D. as it does in our existing vulgar system, the twentieth century cannot commence until 1900 A.D. has ended". It is added that the German Emperor, who celebrated the commencement of the twentieth century on 1st January, 1900, and the English Prayer Book, are in accordance with the astronomical system advocated by Mr. Jordan; and these authorities seem sufficient to bring about the reform argued for and to sweep away a vulgar error in reckoning.

W. M. Rankin.

Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament, Dodekapropheton, Erste Hälfte.

Erklärt von D. Karl Marti, Ord. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Bern. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. Pp. 240.

Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients.

Von Alfred Jeremias. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung; London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. xiv. + 384. *Price 6s. 6d. net; bound, 7s. 6d. net.*

THE first half of Marti's *Dodekapropheton* includes Hosea, Joel, Amos and Obadiah. As regards Hosea and Amos, a *Grundschrift* belonging to the eighth century is recognised in each case, but in both books the references to Judah and the promises of a future restoration are regarded as post-exilic additions. The result is curious: according to this view, both prophets deal exclusively with the Northern Kingdom, and predict its final ruin; and it becomes possible to interpret their silence as to Judah to mean that the Southern Kingdom could survive to be the recipient, the guardian, and the exponent of Revelation. Marti himself merely mentions this view, and is not inclined to adopt it. Indeed there are many serious difficulties in the way of its acceptance; it would seem to imply a spiritual superiority of Judah which would be hard to reconcile with the teaching of Isaiah. Nevertheless the view is attractive; the guilt and doom of Ephraim might well absorb the thoughts of the two prophets; and they might not feel called upon to deal with Judah. Doubtless the traditional contrast between the two Israelite states was mistaken; but there has been a tendency recently to treat them as too much alike; and there may very well have been differences which would prevent Hosea and Amos from

feeling that a message to Israel must also have an application to Judah.

Marti dates the *Grundschrift* of Hosea from shortly before the fall of Jehu's dynasty in 743 to before 737. It is a set of poems written and collected by Hosea. Marti doubts whether Hosea was a preaching prophet at all; he does not think that his writings read like reports or abstracts of speeches. The prophet, he supposes, may have exercised his ministry by circulating written copies of the poems. Why not by public recitation? Our author holds that chapter i. is an account of actual matrimonial experiences, but that chapter iii. about a second marriage is an allegory added by a later writer.

The *Grundschrift* of Amos is dated about 750; its sections were also written down by the prophet himself, and circulated in leaflets. These were collected into a single work by a later editor, perhaps a contemporary of Isaiah. Apart from textual corruptions the book assumed its present form in the fourth century B.C., and may have been the earliest of the prophetical books completed in its canonical form, as Amos was the earliest prophet whose works are extant.

We may return for a moment to the passages which Marti regards as later additions. He holds that in Hosea 49 out of 197, and in Amos 39 out of 146 verses are wholly or partly additions; most of them largely because they refer to Judah or to the restoration. Such criteria are simple and easy of application; but are they valid? A final answer to this question would afford great satisfaction to students of Old Testament theology, who had not committed themselves in the opposite direction; but at present such a decision hardly seems in sight. Nevertheless, the trend of criticism is in favour of our author, and against a pre-exilic origin for the prophecies of restoration. Even critics who treat such passages as part of the original Hosea or Amos do not seem to follow a positive conviction, but rather to give the benefit of the doubt to a convention; much as a chairman gives his casting vote against an innovation when the other votes are equally divided. It must be admitted that in many cases

comparison with the context supports Marti's contention that certain passages are not original. For instance, in Hosea v.-vi., he maintains that Judah has frequently been substituted for Israel, a view that is largely confirmed by the fact that in many couplets Ephraim and Israel are parallel, *e.g.*, iv. 16, 17; v. 3, 5, 9; vi. 10; vii. 1, 8-11; viii. 8, 9, etc., etc. These chapters would be more homogeneous, consecutive and coherent if they were emended as Marti suggests, so that the internal evidence is appreciably in his favour; and if we once accept an editorial revision and annotation, the *à priori* difficulty of regarding any given passage as a later addition is sensibly lessened. At the same time the principle that pre-exilic prophets never predicted a restoration hardly seems self-evident. For instance, Hosea xiv. 9 (EV) certainly strikes one as a reader's comment, but there seems no conclusive reasons why Hosea should not have written verses 1-8. If they were added after the exile, one would have expected some reference to Judah; unless indeed the references to Judah in the body of the book had not yet been inserted.

However, most folk are intolerant of open questions, and controversies have a mysterious way of settling themselves; though, unfortunately, different schools sometimes suppose them to have been settled in opposite ways. *Primâ facie* it seems only fair to give the integrity the benefit of the doubt so long as any reasonable room for doubt remains; yet, on the other hand, it will seem to many that when the editorial activity of Jewish scholars is fully realised, evidence that is *primâ facie* slight becomes convincing. Considerations that cannot be put into syllogisms, and are more easily felt than stated, grow upon one till they seem decisive; and it may be so with many of the contested passages of the pre-exilic prophets.

Little need be said on the sections dealing with Obadiah and Joel. Short as is the former book, it is composite; the *Grundschrift*, so to speak, is dated B.C. 500-450; verses 16-21 were added about B.C. 312, and verses 8, 9, 15*a* somewhat later. Jeremiah xlix. 7-22, which has much in common with Obadiah, is a late portion of Jeremiah, written B.C. 300-200,

and dependent on the oldest portion of Obadiah. The book of Joel is dated B.C. 400-343.

Dr. Alfred Jeremias states that parts of his *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients* may be regarded as "Schrader Redivivus". Doubtless the form of the third edition of *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* was a great disappointment to many. They expected and desired a collection of monumental and other texts arranged in the order of the Biblical passages which these texts illustrated; but Zimmern and Winckler preferred to arrange their material according to subjects, and to occupy much of their space in discussions of the results which might be deduced from Assyriological discoveries. Dr. Jeremias, on the other hand, devotes most of his space to illustrations of Scripture texts from inscriptions, etc., and to comments on the interpretation of these texts in the light of Assyriological and other discoveries; the texts are dealt with according to the place of the books, etc., in the Bible. The reasons for the method adopted by the editors of Schrader are obvious; Assyriology at present is almost crushed beneath the enormous mass of available documents, which accumulate faster than they can be read, or at any rate faster than their contents can be properly digested and appreciated. A collection of all the passages which illustrate Scripture would be unwieldy in itself; and it would often be unintelligible or misleading if its bulk were not increased by copious annotation. Dr. Jeremias himself constantly gives a summary of the evidence from inscriptions instead of quoting the texts. Apart from arrangement, his book largely covers the same ground and contains the same material as the third edition of Schrader; but in some respects the two works supplement each other, and the student will need both.

The two works have other features in common; both are expositions of the theory that the form of the Biblical narratives has been largely determined by the astral mythology of the primitive Semites, best known to us in the religion of

Babylonia. The Israelites assimilated the stories of the achievements and catastrophes of their national heroes to the doings of the deities of the astral myths; much as sculptors have clothed their statues of modern worthies with Roman togas. Joseph, for instance, descended into the depths, into the pit and the prison, but rose to shining heights, and became a source of blessings to his own people and to Egypt. The narrator, therefore, adorned his story with traits from the myth of Tammuz, the life of Nature, who descends into the underworld in the winter and reappears in the spring scattering blessings. The well into which Joseph is cast is suggested by the fact that in Eastern myths a well is the usual entrance to the underworld. Dr. Jeremias, however, strongly maintains that the casting of the narratives in mythological forms is quite consistent with the historicity of the facts they relate—how, or to what extent, he does not make clear. "History," "historical," "historicity," occur frequently in the spaced type which answers to our italics; but these words hardly have the meaning which they bear in popular traditional apologetics. These terms are often used now with a bewildering vagueness, and are quoted in misleading fashion. As far as we can make out when our author writes of the patriarchal narratives as historical, all he means is that the patriarchs actually existed and that some of the leading statements about them, *e.g.*, the migration from Ur, are historically true. This migration, however, and much else that is narrated were incidents of tribal history; the genealogies are late artificial constructions—"Every one wished to trace his descent to the heroes of antiquity"; and the patriarchs were the leaders and not the ancestors of Israel. Abraham is associated with the moon-myths, because he was a wanderer, and the moon is a wanderer in the legends. The story of Chedorlaomer and his allies, and Lot, and Melchisedek is substantially historical; but the number 318 is an ornamental addition from the moon-myth, being the number of days the moon is visible in a year: and so forth.

We might analyse Dr. Jeremias' work into two varieties

of material: first, a collection of information from the inscriptions illustrating Old Testament texts; and, secondly, based upon this information, controversial arguments in support of the author's theory of "historical" narratives set in a framework of astral myths. It is all interesting and useful, but we could wish that our author had separated the information and the arguments and published two books. At any rate, we should have liked the information by itself; the arguments, doubtless, could hardly have been given without the grounds on which they rested. But there is still room for a popular work giving the facts as to parallels between the inscriptions and the Old Testament, with the necessary explanations and nothing more, so that the student may be left to form his own conclusions without being asked to accept the critical opinions of the Assyriologist. A scholar is not necessarily an infallible critic because he is widely read in hieroglyphics, or cuneiform inscriptions, or both.

Many of Dr. Jeremias' readers would have followed him more easily if he had explained some of the less elementary astronomical terms and facts involved in his arguments, and had given diagrams.

W. H. Bennett.

1. The Mind of St. Peter and other Sermons.

By Mandell Creighton, D.D. Sometime Bishop of London. London: Longmans, Green & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. x.+192. *Price 3s. 6d. net.*

2. The Christ from Without and Within: a Study of the Gospel by St. John.

By Rev. Henry W. Clark. London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii.+224. *Price 3s. 6d. net.*

3. Service and Inspiration.

By Alexander Smellie, M.A. London: Andrew Melrose. Royal 18mo, pp. 131. *Price 2s. net.*

4. The Common Hope: First-Fruits of Ministerial Experience in Thought and Life.

Edited by Rev. Rosslyn Bruce, M.A., with an Introduction by the Bishop of Stepney. London: Longmans, Green & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv.+207. *Price 3s. 6d. net.*

1. The publishers are doing well in giving us this complete and comely edition of the works of the late Bishop Creighton. The present volume of sermons takes its title from the first of them, "The Mind of St. Peter". The three addresses under this head were delivered at the Bishops' Devotional Meeting at Lambeth Palace in 1904, and the reading of them fully justifies the great impression produced by them at the time. Under the three words "Hope," "Sobriety," "Patience," there will be found one of the freshest and most striking expositions of the Apostle's character ever published. "He was chosen by our Lord as the typical representative of those on whom His Church was to be built. Many have

wondered why it should have been so. He was a man whose faults were obvious, whose weakness was made manifest; he was a man of no commanding intelligence, of no extraordinary gifts of nature. Yet the reason of our Lord's choice seems to be clear; he was above all things a man, and a man of good-will, sincere when he blundered, simple in his impetuosity, affectionate, trustful, teachable, capable of growth. His qualities were those which were most receptive of the influence of the Holy Spirit of God. He was a splendid example of the transforming power of grace." These are the lines on which Dr. Creighton builds up what Bishop Westcott called "his glowing and powerful" exposition of Peter's character.

Space permits only one other note on this valuable volume. Of almost equal rank with the first sermon is that on "Liberty". When men's minds are so much exercised on this subject, one can think of nothing better than to send them to the perusal of this weighty deliverance, where a master in History traces the growth, development and application of that liberty ever to be found where the Spirit of the Lord is.

It is both an education and an inspiration to read this volume of sermons. It is full of ripe wisdom, and the style is perfect in clearness and strength.

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2. *The Christ from Without and Within* is a volume from one who has already commended himself to all who appreciate thoughtful and spiritual teaching. The present work is a study of St. John's Gospel, not in detail, but in the various impressions made by its successive sections—"a concentration upon the Spirit behind the recorded deeds and utterances, rather than upon the deeds and utterances themselves".

The point of approach is indicated in a carefully written introduction. Substantially it is that associated with Westcott's view of the Mission of the Son, where the emphasis is as much (perhaps more) on the Incarnation as on the Atonement. "Even if Christ had not needed to come as

Jesus, to save His people from their sins, He would still have made our world glorious as Immanuel God with us. In Him God does what He always intended to do. . . . God put His own life into the Christ, and through the Christ into man."

It does not perhaps fall within Mr. Clark's aim to discuss this question. If it did, he would doubtless see how much consideration is demanded in accepting a view, not only entirely speculative, but one that seems to shift the weight of the New Testament from one centre to another.

Apart from this, the book deals with its subject-matter with great spiritual insight and tenderness of touch. As examples of this, one may note the sections on John the Baptist, and Christ in contact with different human types. The study of the woman of Samaria—"Christ arousing Self-Knowledge"—is a gem of exposition. Mr. Clark devotes five chapters to the Johannine conception of Christ as Light, Life, the Water and the Bread of Life, and the Good Shepherd, and the exposition shows all the qualities of cultured aspiration that we have learned to expect from this writer.

Altogether, this is a volume full of suggestiveness; valuable for its spiritual apprehension, and not less for the searching application of the profoundest truths to the experience of the ordinary Christian.

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3. Those who know Mr. Smellie's *Hour of Silence* will welcome *Service and Inspiration.* It is on similar lines—devotional, with marked evangelic sympathies, and there is the same feeling and skill for literary grace. Mr. Smellie's style shows how much at home he is in good literature. The book consists of eight addresses. Five of them were delivered at the Centenary Meetings of the Sunday School Union. They are admirably calculated for their purpose, and two of them—"The Song of the Well" and "The Great Hope"—are models of exegesis.

The fourth of these addresses has the title "The Reading which Feeds the Heart"—short studies on Augustine, Pascal,

Herbert, Christina Rossetti, etc. As introduction to these devotional writers, Mr. Smellie's appreciation can scarcely be surpassed for aptness of touch and wisdom of selection. The book is beautiful all round, in form, style and contents.

4. *The Common Hope: First-Fruits of Ministerial Experience in Thought and Life*, is a volume of ten sermons contributed by as many writers—clergymen of the Church of England. It is introduced by a preface from the Bishop of Stepney, in which, without making any great claim for the sermons on the score of power and originality, he commends them as "voices of confidence, of happiness and hopefulness". Such a claim may be allowed, especially in its first term.

The sermons are on the social side of Christianity, and embrace a variety of topics. "The Church and Her Testimony" and "Convictions" are first in the book and, *longo intervallo*, first in worth and importance. Other subjects are "The New Imperialism," "The Church and Temperance" (characteristic and characteristically from Burton-on-Trent). "Clerical Mannerisms," "The Church and the Children," "The Joy of Ministry," "Church Army Methods," and a sermon on "The Christian's Sunday". In this last, which upsets many conventional ideas of the Lord's Day, but consoles us with the confession of the Lord Chancellor that "he plays golf on Sunday without neglecting the worship of God," there occurs the naïve conclusion, "This surely is the true Christian view of a difficult question". It is almost a pity to upset the Chancellor's theological reputation in this summary manner. The volume partakes of the character of all first-fruits. It is fresh, and it has *other qualities* usually associated with first-fruits.

W. M. Grant.

A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century.

By John Theodore Merz. Vol. II. London : Blackwood & Sons, 1903. *8vo*, pp. 807. *Price* 15*s. net.*

The author of this volume has undertaken the Herculean task of writing the history of European thought in the nineteenth century. In the volume before us, the second of the series, he has completed the record of scientific thought. It is a wonderful story, and shows the workers a very host in number and belonging to many lands, a galaxy of powerful minds and strenuous investigators; shows them labouring patiently in nature's fields, studying her minute and large, her multitudinous and complex processes, collecting facts and making experiments, advancing step by step, step leading to step, leading so inevitably that often more than one at the same time lighted upon the same advance: shows facts and experiments leading to laws and laws to theories more or less sustained. In this history we have the division into the Kinetic view of nature, the Physical, the Morphological, the Genetic, the Vitalistic, the Psycho-physical, the Statistical, and the Mathematical. We can only give a very general view of its contents.

I. The Kinetic View. Ancient philosophers saw perpetual motion in things that appeared to be at rest. Epicurus and Lucretius put forward this view, but occupied themselves more with describing the primal element of matter, the so-called nature of things than with the modes of their motion. In modern times Huygens and Euler first cultivated and rendered it fruitful. Young, Rumford, and Fresnel followed, and in the nineteenth century Foucault, Kirchhoff, Clerk

Maxwell, Helmholtz, Stokes, Lord Kelvin, and others. As the result of their investigations the conclusion has been reached that there are motions, motions everywhere, and not a thing at rest. In material elements there are motions to and fro, or translational, rotary motions as in solids. In the ether there are motions forward and vibratory. The tendency has always been to find motion within motion, and now even atoms are conceived as systems of electrons moving ceaselessly.

II. The Physical View. In the first half of the century under review, expositions of inanimate nature were based on a variety of forces, as gravity and chemical affinity. In the second half a general and unifying principle was gradually and slowly reached in the conception of energy. To it mechanical work in every form is due. Other expressions were at first employed, as working power, availability, etc., until Lord Kelvin, following Young and Joule, clearly put forward this term to the satisfying of the scientific world. The two great principles of the conservation and dissipation of energy have also been established. By the former is meant that no measure of it is lost or extinguished. It may however be transformed from one form to another. Heat, electrical, and magnetic energies are mutually convertible. By the latter is meant that they may pass into such a condition as not to be available or recoverable for work, as heat into space.

Up to our century natural things were divided into animals, vegetables and minerals. During its course these divisions were broken down, and the division has been made into abstract and concrete or actual things. All sciences that deal with the latter are included in natural history. In this field two general terms are employed, morphological and genetic, the one applied to the form in which things at any time are found, the other to the manner in which they reached their form. Other divisions are the vitalistic and psychophysical.

III. The Morphological View. This view embraces the sciences of crystallography, minerals on a large scale, the

existing forms and structures in and on the crust of the globe, animal and vegetable forms and cells. From 1800 to 1860 may be termed the morphological period. Natural history had before concerned itself with the description and classification of specimens. Cuvier, De Candolle and Humboldt on the continent, and Owen in this country, gained great fame in this field. Cuvier and Owen made great advances in the study of animal forms, and later investigators in the knowledge of cells.

IV. The Genetic View. This deals with the question how things came to be as they are. Our author prefers the term genesis to evolution. Leibnitz was the first who dealt with this view in a scientific manner. He conceived that fire and water had been at work in forming the surface of the earth, and suggested that various localities should be examined in order to arrive at general conclusions. Not a few carried out his suggestion. The great philosopher Kant made an attempt to trace out the chief stages in the formation of the planetary system. Forty years after La Place propounded his nebular hypothesis as a possible one. In the first half of the nineteenth century a cyclical view prevailed, maintaining that everything runs in a cycle. This view was strengthened by the ideas of the periodicity of the planets and fixity of species, and it was generally held that all things begin and end, develop and decay. During the latter half of the century the genetic view came into prominence. There were not a few premonitions of it. But not until Darwin published his famous work on the Origin of Species did it really enter the field. With respect to it Hartmann writes: "In the sixties of the past century, the opposition of the older group of savants to the Darwinian hypothesis was still supreme. In the seventies the new ideas began to gain ground rapidly in all cultured countries. In the eighties Darwin's influence was at its height, and exercised an almost absolute control over technical research. In the nineties a few expressions of doubt and opposition were heard, and these gradually swelled into a chorus of voices aiming at the overthrow of the Darwinian theory. In the first decade of

the twentieth century it has become apparent that the days of Darwinism are numbered.

V. The Vitalistic View. The question has arisen: Is life the result of the form into which molecules have been built up, or is there a special life force? Huxley in a well-known passage put forth the first view. Professor Kerner von Marilaun says: "By what name shall we now designate that force in nature which is liable to perish whilst the protoplasm suffers no alteration, and in the absence of any extrinsic cause, and which yet so long as it is not extinct causes the protoplasm to move, to enclose itself, to assimilate certain kinds of fresh matter coming within the sphere of its activity? It is not electricity, it is not magnetism, and I hesitate not to designate it vital forces." Professor Virchow has also written: "We cannot see how the phenomena of life can be understood simply as an assemblage of natural forces in those substances". A school, however, arose which taught that living forces were the manifestation of certain power to do work, and that that power could be stored as potential energy. None of the men to whom is due the extension of biological knowledge favoured or embraced this view. Huxley at first belonged to this class. Schwann conceived the cell to be the biological unit. He also formed the conception of metabolism, *i.e.*, the changes that go on in cells in form and chemical constitution. Every organism is a society of cells. The most important property of all living matter is that it is reproductive. Protoplasm takes in food, grows, divides and multiplies. It forms cells, egg cells, male and female cells, which united build up the most complex organisations. There have been two views as to how they do this. There is (1) that of preformation and development or that in the united cell is found the miniature of the full-grown animal; (2) that of epigenesis or successive division and differentiation.

VI. The Psycho-physical View of nature deals with the common ground where physical, mental and psychical phenomena meet and interact. In 1834 Cabanis brought before the scientific world the problem of the relations between

body and mind. In order, he wrote, to arrive at a correct idea of those operations from which thought arises, we must consider the brain as a particular organ destined specially to produce it in the same way as the stomach and intestines are there to perform digestion, the liver to filter the bile, the parotid, maxillary and sublingual glands to prepare the salivary juice. When the interest in animal electricity was at its height, many hoped that in it the secret of life and consciousness would be revealed. The mystical processes of Mesmer, resulting in fanciful theories, brought this whole line of thought into contempt. Helmholz and Du Bois Reymond brought the subject back to a scientific basis, and showed that in organic systems as in inorganic, the energy proper to them can appear as mechanical, thermal, electric or chemical energy, and that in none of these is the principle of life to be found, much less of consciousness. Gall and Spurzheim located the various faculties and powers in different spheres of the brain, and represented these as distinguishable on the surface of the skull. Their views were speedily and easily refuted. The whole subject is still highly controversial. Professor Ferrier says: "It is undoubted that the nerve systems of the body have their special work to do, and also parts of the brain, but the time has not come to explain its mechanism". Helmholz has done more than any other to advance the subject by his studies of vision and hearing and the inner structure of their organs. Herbart rendered important service by insisting that in the analysis of sensations the underlying mental unity is the supreme central phenomenon of psychology and psychophysics. The psycho-physical method can go only a little way, though it is evident that nothing takes place in our consciousness without motion and activity in the brain. The introspective method, Professor Bain says, is ten times all other methods put together, and fifty times the utmost range of psycho-physics alone.

VII. The Statistical View. In our day statistics are everywhere and applied to everything. La Place laid the foundation of their scientific treatment in his doctrines of

average and probability. Much might be said of their usefulness, but space prevents.

VIII. The Mathematical View. Mathematics has been denominated the Queen of Sciences, and arithmetic the Queen of Mathematics. They had their origin among the Egyptians, being required for mensuration purposes. Euclid, taking much from Eudoxus, and Theaetetus, put together the elements, and subjected them to rigorous proofs. In modern times, as in Egypt, their advance has been largely due to the requirements of science. They were necessary to the uranometry of Kepler, Newton and La Place. Their main development consisted in the introduction of algebra and its application to geometry and dynamics, and in the invention of the infinitesimal methods, and their application to an infinite variety of curves and surfaces in which the objects of nature present themselves, and even still more in the translation of algebraical formulæ into geometrical conceptions. Curves and curved surfaces were regarded as made up of an infinite number of small straight lines and their properties deduced therefrom. In them lie the greatest questions of all the modern sciences of number and measurement, the *rationale* of the doctrines of the integral calculus, the calculus of operations, the doctrine of series, the methods of approximation and interpolation, the application of analysis to geometry, the theory of curves of the higher order, the solution of equations, etc. One of the greatest names in the history of mathematics is that of Gauss. The advances made throughout the century were largely anticipated by him. Cauchy, a brilliant professor in Paris, pointed out the only right road to progress. Abel, Euler, Monge, Poncelet, Charles, Sir William Rowan Hamilton, Cayley and many others, laid new foundation principles or devised new methods. The foundation principles of arithmetic, algebra and geometry were philosophically examined and fruitful ideas brought forward. Angles have become lines of direction. Figures are regarded not as fixed and rigid, but as moving about in space, not as isolated but in mutual relations. Lines and surfaces are viewed as infinite in extension.

These are the graphic method, which employs figures to represent problems, the method of projection, the ideas of duality, reciprocity, invariants, forms, symmetry, and determinants of groups, functions and the potential, etc.

The parallelism between geometrical and algebraical ideas, the habit of expressing the former by the latter, and interpreting the latter by the former, led to purely imaginary ideas, such as four and even more dimensions in space. The fundamental notion, says Cayley, underlying and pervading the whole of modern analysis and geometry, is that of imaginary magnitude in analysis and imaginary space in geometry. I include in imaginary the real. This notion, he maintains, even if belonging to mere technical mathematics or referring to nonentities, ought not as a subject of philosophical discussion to be ignored.

Mathematics have played a principal part in the advancement of science. The fundamental idea of all the sciences is that law and order reign throughout, that all things, all magnitudes, weights, lengths, energies, etc., are measured, that everywhere there is mathematical accuracy. And the more carefully mathematical measuring has been applied, and the more powerful mathematical methods of analysis have become, the greater the discoveries that have been made.

But mathematics have become not only a power in advancing other sciences but have themselves a claim to be a science and one extraordinarily rich in facts and relations, in principles and laws, in wonderful methods and powers, in suggestive ideas as numbers, magnitudes, correspondences, space and time.

This volume is of extraordinary interest and usefulness. From it may be learned the great truths of all the sciences, and the processes by which they were reached. We see giant minds grappling with the most intricate and complex problems, patiently and strenuously bending their strength to their solution. We see them misinterpreting phenomena, forming false and imperfect theories, theories that for a time held the field, and were received by some with enthusiasm, by others with dismay. We see them at the same time

advancing with the greatest caution, exercising the noblest patience, and victoriously wresting from nature her grandest secrets. The labour expended, the knowledge gathered for the production of this magnificent work, fills us with wonder and admiration.

William Profeit.

The Influence of Roman Law upon Christianity.

By the Rev. H. W. Gibson, M.A., LL.B.

This is a comprehensive title. It was framed so advisedly. Under cover of it, not only the external but the internal influence of Roman Law on Christianity may competently be treated of. Not only did Roman Law exercise an influence upon Christianity in affording protection to its propagators, but it exercised an internal influence upon the development of Christian doctrine. Among the various elements which prepared the way for, and facilitated the reception by men of, the Incarnation, Roman Law was not one of the least important. If the fulness of time was shown in the self-confessed inability of ancient philosophy to stem the moral degradation of mankind, in the closed doors of the Temple of Janus and the universal peace which existed when the Prince of Peace was born; if a language of rare beauty and flexibility, as the common tongue of the educated, civilised world of the time, presented itself as the medium wherein was enshrined the Gospel of Peace; if those monuments of industry and perseverance which even yet in their endurance move us to admiration—those roads which stretched like a network to the North and to the South, to the East and to the West of that same civilised world, became highways for the feet of those who preached the Gospel of Peace;—if the expansion of one great temporal kingdom and its consolidation and concentration in the person of one earthly ruler familiarised the mind with the conception of a great spiritual kingdom embracing all nations and kindreds of the earth with one Head, Jesus Christ, so did the majesty of the Roman Law minister to the spread of Christianity when it threw its protecting ægis over him who was a chosen vessel to bear Christ's name to the Gentiles.

Before proceeding then to consider the internal influence of Roman Law, it may not be altogether inappropriate to follow out this last thought and to show what an important ally Christianity, in its infancy, found in the law of Rome.

St. Paul was essentially a Roman citizen. He was, it is true, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, a Pharisee of the Pharisees, saturated with Jewish tradition, but, over and beyond this, he was possessed of a privilege which even the High Priest himself might not possess. He had inherited the Roman franchise. He was a free-born citizen of the Roman Empire. St. Paul knew what this meant. He knew the value of it, and when occasion demanded he could assert his rights with dignity and effect.

Roman citizenship was very different from and had more far-reaching effects than the citizenship we speak of nowadays. Our citizenship often means nothing more than the payment of rates and taxes, with the corresponding privilege of exercising the franchise. But Roman citizenship meant much more than that. Originally the right was confined to the city of Rome, though it was gradually extended with the expansion of the Empire. But at first it was not so. It was confined to the inhabitants of the city on the banks of the Tiber—or, to be more accurate, to the patricians. Plebeians and other non-citizens could not buy or sell according to the Roman Law, nor contract the highest form of marriage; but, as the Republic and then the Empire extended, this exclusiveness was gradually broken down: and one of the greatest benefits Rome could bestow on the cities or nations she conquered was this right of citizenship. The privilege would be even more restricted and consequently more valued in the provinces than in Rome itself. The wholesale manumission of slaves by wealthy Romans in the time of the Empire entailed a lowering of the *Civitas*, and the *Lex Furia Caninia* was passed in A.D. 8 with a view to checking the indiscriminate manumission of slaves.

Englishmen are proud, and justly proud, of this realm of England. They have served themselves heirs to the glorious heritage won by their forefathers, they feel they have a share

in the prestige of the British arms, they appropriate to themselves, half-unconsciously perhaps, the respect and regard which are shown to their country; and, though far from home, they feel that they have the British army and the British fleet with its "all-shattering guns" to protect them from injury and insult.

Such would be something of the feeling experienced, however, in probably an even greater degree, by the Roman citizen. He might be the inhabitant of a conquered province—his home might be in some obscure corner of the Empire—but would he not forget his humiliation in his new freedom as he became linked to and incorporated with the mighty Empire of Rome? Wherever he went he was covered as it were with a shield. These simple but significant words—*Civis Romanus sum* ("I am a Roman citizen")—were his passport and credentials. Thus it was one of the counts in the indictment by Cicero of Verres, that he had trampled upon the rights of Roman citizens.

In Verrem (Cicero) v. 57: Cervices in carcere frangebantur indignissime civium Romanorum, ut jam illa vox et imploratio *Civis Romanus sum*, quae saepe multis, in ultimis terris, opem inter barbaros et salutem tulit, ea mortem illis acerbiorem et supplicium maturius ferret. (The necks of Roman citizens were broken with the greatest indignity in prison, so that already that voice and plea "I am a Roman citizen," which often to many in distant lands did afford help and safety amongst barbarians, brought to them a more bitter death and a riper punishment.)

Sometimes this right of citizenship was conferred by gift, *e.g.*, when a slave was manumitted and became a free man. Sometimes it was obtained by purchase, as, *e.g.*, in the case of the centurion who told St. Paul that he had obtained this freedom with a great sum. Sometimes it was inherited, as in St. Paul's own case, *accidens autem tribunus, dixit illi, Dic mihi si tu Romanus es? At ille dixit: Etiam. Et respondit tribunus: Ego multa summa civitatem hanc consecutus sum: et Paulus ait Ego autem et natus sum* (Acts xxii. 27-28). St. Paul then was a Tarsian, a citizen of a distinguished city. "He

was not merely," says Professor Ramsay, "a person born in Tarsus, owing to the accident of his family being there: he had a citizen's rights in Tarsus. . . . If Paul's family had merely emigrated to Tarsus from Judea some years before his birth neither he nor his father would have been 'Tarsians' but merely residents (*incolae*)." Professor Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*) thinks "It is probable, but not certain, that the family (of the Apostle) had been planted in Tarsus with full rights as part of a colony settled there by one of the Seleucid kings in order to strengthen their hold on the city. Such a re-foundation took place at Tarsus, for the name Antiocheia was given it under Antiochus IV. (B.C. 175-164). The Seleucid kings seem to have had a preference for Jewish colonists in their foundations in Asia Minor. Citizenship in Tarsus might also have been presented to Paul's father or grandfather for distinguished services to the State; but that is much less probable."

Be that as it may, St. Paul had inherited this right, and its possession must have influenced his thoughts and determined to some extent his position in life. It is well to get this idea clearly in our minds that, whatever other qualifications he possessed, whatever other accidents attended his birth, he was first and foremost, as the society of the world was then constituted, a Roman citizen. That qualification placed him among the aristocracy of any provincial town; it secured to him the protection of the Roman Law. Had he always timeously insisted upon it, it might have exempted him from much that he suffered. By right of it he was entitled to appeal to Cæsar, and was thereby enabled to carry his message into the very palace of the Emperor himself—into the very heart of the civilised world of his time.

Thus, at Philippi, when St. Paul and St. Silas had been scourged and imprisoned, the magistrates were afraid on learning that they were Roman citizens, and humbly besought them to depart out of the city. So also, when St. Paul was being bound preparatory to being scourged after the uproar in the Temple at Jerusalem, he claimed and successfully enforced his rights as a Roman citizen.

At Thessalonica the complaint was "these that have turned the world upside down are come hither also; whom Jason hath received: and these all do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying that there is another king, one Jesus". The Roman officials troubled themselves very little about the disputes among the Jews; like Gallio they "cared for none of these things". Their attitude was one of cold contempt. The only hope then of those who stirred up the agitation against the Apostle and his companion was to try and bring them within the scope of the Roman Law; and the instrument they used was the same as that brought against our Lord Himself—the Law of Treason—*De Majestate*. According to Cicero, "Majestas est quaedam magnitudo populi Romani"; and the act of treason would according to Ulpian be committed by speaking *adversus populum Romanum*. So that, when in course of time the Emperor came to personify the whole people, the crime would be committed simply by speaking against Cæsar (*cf.* Scots Law, Lease-Majesty—leasing making).

Probably enough has been said to show the external influence of Roman Law upon early Christianity. Before it became a *religio illicita*—singled out for persecution—its professors enjoyed a certain immunity: it had time to develop under the tolerant administration of the Roman Empire, but, over and above this, it was an important factor that he who was especially the Apostle of the Gentiles should have enjoyed exceptional privileges by virtue of his status as a Roman citizen.

It might doubtless be shown, too, how in later times the Roman civil administration perhaps affected and helped to mould the organisation of the Church. But it is not proposed to go into that now, and the internal influence of Roman Law on Christian doctrine will now be considered.

St. Paul's theology was essentially forensic. He breathed the atmosphere, he lived under the spirit of the law of Rome.

In the Epistle to the Romans—which is more of a sustained treatise than a letter—it is not surprising that we find

this forensic element much in evidence. The old civil law of Rome, the *jus civile*, had been modified and had undergone amelioration and expansion from two distinct sources—the law of nations, *i.e.*, the *jus gentium*, which resembles though it is not the same as that which we call international law nowadays. It was rather a system of equity which grew up alongside of the strict civil law of Rome and in process of time was gradually incorporated with that law. "Jus praetorium est quod praetores introduxerunt adjuvandi vel supplendi vel corrigendi juris civilis gratia propter utilitatem publicam." (The praetorium law is what the praetors introduced for the sake of assisting or supplementing or correcting the civil law on account of public utility), *e.g.*, it countenanced the right of a *non civis* though it could not confer the *patria potestas*. Again, as regards property, it recognised quasi ownership in the *non civis*, the *possessio honorum*, though not the *dominium* or full right of property enjoyed by the Roman citizen.

The *jus gentium* had been built up by the contact between Romans and non-Romans, but, prior (to some extent) as well as subsequent to the consolidation of the praetorian edict, the civil law of Rome was leavened by an influence emanating from an altogether different source. This was the *jus naturale* of the Greek and especially of the Stoic philosophers. The conception of a *jus naturale*—to which men ought to conform — something above and beyond all positive law, adapted itself to the Roman mind, and found able exponents in such men as Cicero and much later Seneca.

"There is," says the former, "a true law, a right reason conformable to justice, diffused through all hearts, unchangeable, eternal, which by its commands summons to duty, by its prohibitions deters from evil. Attempts to amend this law are impious, to modify it in any respect is wrong, to repeal it is impossible. From this law neither Senate nor people can relieve us, and it shall not be one law at Rome, and another at Athens, one now and another hereafter. But the one eternal and immutable law shall sway all nations for all time and be the common law and master of all." *Cf.*

Butler on "Conscience": "Had it strength, as it has right; had it power, as it has manifest authority; it would absolutely govern the world" (sec. ii.).

It was this conception which the jurists, practical men of affairs, took, it has been said, from the "Philosopher's Cell," and gradually wove into the civil law of Rome; and it was this conception, on the other hand, which enabled St. Paul to meet the Romans on common ground. He says: "For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves: which show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another" (Rom. ii. 14, 15).

This law, as well as the law of Moses for the Jews, was a servant or slave—a pedagogue—to lead the children of men to Christ. All men had sinned and "come short of the glory of God". In God's sight should no man living be justified. This "ineradicable taint of sin," as it has been called, is acknowledged by those without as well as by those within the pale of Christianity. One Latin poet has acknowledged that no one is born without vices, while another, in words not unlike those used by St. Paul, declares that, while he sees and approves the good, he follows the evil.

> Video meliora proboque
> Deteriora sequor.

Cf. too:—

> The universe
> In Nature's silent eloquence declares
> That all fulfil the works of love and joy—
> All but the outcast *man*.

There was no "Daysman" fit to stand between man and his offended Maker: until Christ came and paid the penalty of man's sin. Man was "justified freely by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus". "For if we have been planted together in the likeness of His death, we shall be also in the likeness of His resurrection: knowing this, that our old man is crucified with Him, that the body

of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin. For he that is dead is freed from sin" (Rom. vi. 5-7).

"The word 'freed' is literally 'justified'. The passage should run thus: 'He that dies (and so exhausts the law's penalty and claim) is justified (or has been justified) from the sin'. In the terms of the old Scottish jurisprudence 'justify' means to suffer the penalty of the law, so that a justified man would mean one who had completed his term of punishment and so was free" (Bonar's *Way of Peace*, p. 63).

It is also quite possible that in this aspect of the Atonement, as a liberation from the dominion of sin, we have a reference to the *jus postliminii* of the Roman Law. See Justinian's *Institutes*, I. xii. 5: "If an ascendant is taken prisoner, though he becomes the slave of the enemy, yet his paternal power is only suspended, owing to the *jus postliminii*; for captives, when they return, are restored to all their former rights".

The head of a family thus suffered a temporary *diminutio capitis*, *i.e.*, loss of *status*. But his rights were only temporarily suspended. If he returned, they re-emerged. He was able to assert them over, say, his son, who had been *sui juris* during his absence. If he did not return, however, he was presumed to have died at the moment of the commencement of his captivity.

Conditionally then, Christ has taken sin into captivity. He has "led captivity captive".

Enough has probably been said to show how essentially forensic was St. Paul's conception of the Atonement. Such a conception, too, would probably fall in with and receive development from the legal genius of the Roman mind.

Turning now to the subject of Adoption, we shall see how much light the Roman Law throws upon that great doctrine. We, too, no doubt, employ the term in a general way. We know what adoption is. It is comparatively common for those to whom God has denied the blessing of children to adopt a child and bring it up as their own. But that child, just as it has no right of succession to its adoptive parents

at common law, so, by adoption, it does not lose its rights as against its natural parents. True, its adoptive parents may, and possibly would, provide for it by will or bequest, but the point is that this is purely voluntary on their part. By the law of the land there is no succession of the adopted child to its adoptive parent, nor of the adoptive parent to the adopted child. What the law of England looks to is blood relationship. Under the Roman system the case was different. Adoption was a much more important matter. It went deeper and had further-reaching effects. It was a legal act involving correlative rights and responsibilities as regards the parties to it. It was of two kinds.

1. *Adoptio.*—Adoption proper. This took place when one who was himself subject to the parental control of his natural father was assumed into another family. Here the transaction took the form of a fictitious sale, based on the analogy of the purchase of a slave. The transaction took place before seven witnesses. The scales were produced, the money was weighed, and the adopting parent, placing a wand over the head of the person to be adopted, said, "I take this man to be my son," just as in the case of the sale of a slave he would have said, "I take this man to be my slave". When such conveyance was complete, the child's rights as against his natural father were extinguished. But, on the other hand, he, by adoption, acquired equal right of succession to his adoptive parent along with that parent's own children. All succeeded equally. "There is no difference," says Gaius, "whether they are natural or adopted"—*nec interest utrum naturales sint an adoptivi.*

2. *Abrogatio.*—The other form of adoption took place when one who was himself head of a family was adopted into another family. This was a much more serious matter, involving as it did the possible extinction of a family, and the consent of the State to the proposed change was required. The State had to be satisfied that the person to be adopted had other brothers to perpetuate the family. But if this consent were obtained then the person adopted, along with his children and property, passed into the family of the

person adopting him. His rights as against the family of his birth ceased and determined, and new rights accrued to him in the family of his adoption. Adoption thus meant a clean sweeping away of the past—the abrogation of old, and the acquisition of new rights, privileges and responsibilities. The man passed entirely into a new family. His debts were cancelled. So completely was he regarded as a member of the new family, that though of course there might be no blood relationship, he was debarred from marrying within what would have been the forbidden degrees just as if in fact such blood relationship had actually existed. The incorporation with the new—the severance from the old—was complete.

Christians, too, have a seven-fold witness of their adoption—a seven-fold witness of the Holy Spirit that they are the children of God—and, if children, heirs, heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ. In the baptismal service we pray—"Give thy Holy Spirit to this infant that he may be born again and be made an heir of everlasting salvation". And in reply to the priest's demand, "Dost thou in the name of this child renounce the devil and all his works," etc., the godparents reply, "I renounce them all". It is a renunciation of the old family, and a declaration of readiness to be received into the new. The putting off of the old man, the putting on of the new—an abandonment of the death unto sin and the entering into a life unto righteousness. We are buried with Christ in order that we may also live and reign with Him. Just as the Roman placed his wand over the head of the son he was about to adopt, so Christ's minister makes the sign of the cross on the forehead of one who has just been adopted into Christ's family.

The following points may be noted in conclusion. One of St. Paul's objects in writing to the Galatians was to deter them from falling back upon the "weak and beggarly elements" of the Jewish Law. That law was, as it were, a *pactum adjectum* upon the original promise of salvation—the *protevangelium*—that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, or at all events the promise to Abraham

before circumcision. Those under it were, as it were, under tutors and curators until the time appointed of the Father. This conception was quite in keeping with the discretionary power vested in the author of the guardianship. "There is no doubt," says Justinian, "that a tutor may be given for a certain time or from a certain time, or under a condition or before the institution of the heir" (*Institutes*, I. xiv. 3).

The Roman testamentary law throws some light, too, upon a word—διαθήκη—the centre of some learned discussion. Was it a testament or a contract? Perhaps the word contains both meanings. Wills were, I believe, a Roman invention. They might entail an interference with the ordinary legal order of succession, and hence, in their infancy at all events, their execution was a public act. The State was a witness of this public act in the *Comitia Calata* which assembled twice a year for the purpose.

One form of will, before written wills came into vogue, was that *per aes et libram*, which was really a sale by the testator to the heir during his life. Besides the balance holder there were five witnesses of the transaction. It was really a conveyance *inter vivos* though executed *mortis causa*. It is stated there was an understanding not to disturb the testator during his life. How far this is so I am not prepared to say. The point is that in this aspect the early Roman will partook somewhat of the nature of a contract as well as of a testament.

When the written will came into vogue it had to be signed and sealed by the testator and seven witnesses who also signed and appended their seals. "Among the Romans," says Lord Mackenzie (*R. L.*, 259), "the testament was opened in the presence of the witnesses or the major number of them who had signed it; and after they had acknowledged their seals it was read and a copy made, after which the original was deposited in the public archives, from which a fresh copy might be afterwards obtained if required."

It is interesting to compare this description with that of the parchment roll and its seven seals in chapter v. of the Revelation of St. John, and it is difficult not to believe that

the writer of that prophecy had the praetorian will in his mind's eye (see Rev. E. Hicks' *Traces of Greek Philosophy and Roman Law in the N.T.*).

Many points may have been left untouched, but enough has been adduced to show how much Christianity is indebted, externally and internally, to the law of Rome.

H. W. Gibson.

Die Bedeutung der Sprüche Jesu Ben Sira für die Datierung des Althebräischen Spruchbuches.

Untersucht von Dr. Joh. Konrad Gasser. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London: Williams & Norgate, 1904. 8*vo*, pp. 270. *Price* 5*s. net.*

Samaria und Seine Propheten. Ein Religionsgeschichtlicher Versuch mit einer Textbeilage: Die Weisheitslehre des Phokylides, Griechisch und Deutsch.

Von Dr. Karl F. A. Lincke, Gymnasial Professor in Jena. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. 8*vo*, pp. viii. + 179. *Price* 4*s.*

Dr. Gasser is of opinion that the considerations hitherto adduced and mainly relied on for the determining of the date of the canonical book of Proverbs have not led to a satisfactory result. An important point in the discussion has been the relation of Proverbs to the other books of the Old Testament—particularly to the book of Deuteronomy. Dr. Gasser raises the question whether the apocryphal book of Jesus the son of Sirach may not help to settle the date of the Old Testament book of Proverbs? The present volume is his answer to that question. He finds important differences —along various lines—between the two books. These differences, in his opinion, bear directly on the question of the date of Proverbs.

In proceeding to discuss the question, he assumes (1) that the date of the "Wisdom of Jesus the son Sirach" was about B.C. 180—perhaps B.C. 190, certainly not later than B.C. 170; and (2) that the date of Sirach's book constitutes a *terminus ad quem* for the date of Proverbs. In other words, the book of Proverbs is not later than the work of Sirach.

The differences which Dr. Gasser finds between the two books are partly of a historical and partly of an intellectual

or spiritual character. In prosecuting the investigation, the author divides his work into three parts: (1) The historical background of the two books; (2) The *spirit* of the works—their intellectual and religious relations to the history of Israel; and (3) their relation to the literature of the Old Testament. In all three parts important differences are found. And on the strength of these, Dr. Gasser concludes that it is out of the question to assign the book of Proverbs to the Grecian period; while the contents of the book make a post-exilic date highly questionable.

It is unnecessary to say that there are many critics who will not accept this conclusion. Prof. Toy, *e.g.*, in his *International Commentary on Proverbs*, holds that the book contains "philosophical conceptions which are out of place in any pre-exilian century or during the exile. They manifestly belong to the time when the Jews came into close intellectual contact with the non-Semitic world" (Introduction, p. xxii.). The criticism of these days is so largely subjective that we may expect differences of view of this kind to be constantly emerging.

One example may be given to show the kind of work which Dr. Gasser has taken in hand. In the second part there is a section on the cultus. Prov. iii. 9 is quoted, "Honour the Lord with thy substance, and with the first-fruits of all thine increase". The question is, "Is there here any definite reference to the Mosaic ceremonial law—any bringing into prominence of the national cultus? And the answer must be, No." Compare with this Sirach vii. 29-31: "Fear the Lord with all thy soul and reverence His priests. Love Him that made thee with all thy strength, and forsake not His ministers. Fear the Lord and honour the priest; and give him his portion as it is commanded thee; the first-fruits, and the trespass offering, and the gift of the shoulders, and the sacrifice of sanctification, and the first-fruits of the holy things." The difference in the language is sufficiently striking, and the inference may appear to be plain. Still, the conclusion from the verse in Proverbs rests on the argument from silence, which is frequently far from satisfactory.

A man might very well be exhorted to honour God as in Prov. iii. 9, although there was a very detailed legislation to be observed in behalf of the priests.

The book is not of very great practical importance. But the subject discussed is an interesting one. The work shows the patience and regard to detail which we expect from German critics. And to students of the period of the Wisdom literature of the Jews it is of considerable value.

The subject discussed by Dr. Lincke is suggested by the title of Wellhausen's well-known work, *The History of Israel and Judah.* Israel and Judah are in antagonism in this volume. According to Dr. Lincke, from the time of the split in the kingdom, in the reign of Rehoboam, the enmity between Israelites and Jews was such that the question might fairly be raised whether they came of the same race. Our author agrees with the view, which is largely held in our time, that the influence of Babylon appears in the history and literature of Judah—in the popular sagas, the history of Creation, and the hierarchical legislation. The question is, "Was a similar influence exercised in Israel?" On the answer to that question a good deal depends. For this antagonism between Israel and Judah is really a conflict between religious and moral ideas on the one side and hierarchical ideals and institutions on the other—between prophecy and law. For the former we turn to Israel or Samaria. That is substantially the view of Dr. Lincke.

The book contains a great deal of interesting matter, a good many assertions for which some proof should be offered, and some peculiar opinions which are not likely to find acceptance. The work is divided into five parts. In the first part which bears the title, "The Prophets of Ephraim," a *résumé* of the history is given to the time of the exile. How freely the history is handled in support of the position assumed, will appear from the following reference to Moses. Moses, the judge of a settled community in Kadesh, cannot

be the same man as the shepherd Moses at the mount of God in the Sinaitic peninsula. Moses the judge at Kadesh, the prophet who died and was buried in the land of Moab, is the head of the Joseph-tribe of Ephraim who crossed the Jordan and settled in Northern Palestine. Moses the Levite, the shepherd at the mount of God in the wilderness, is an Arab (of Northern Arabia), whose father-in-law was a Midianite, and whose wife was a Cushite (from Southern Arabia). This Moses joined the tribe of Judah in Goshen, and settled with them in Southern Palestine. And so we have the rival peoples facing each other, and the way is open for the conflict. The perplexing thing is, that they appear in history as if united under the same leader, and that leader Moses. *That* we owe to the writer or writers of the history, and to the influence of Judah. This will appear when we turn to the last chapter of this first part of the book. The theme is Hosea and Jeremiah, in whom we have the richest fruit of that prophecy which should be set over against the hierarchical legalism of Judah—as the true preparation for Christianity. Hosea, in thought and diction, is allowed to occupy an unique place in the Old Testament. "His words are a Gospel from which issue light and warmth." That the fate of Ephraim is pointed to in the symbolical names of the opening chapter of Hosea is obvious. But it is utterly inconceivable that Hosea should have given such a picture, or uttered such a doom. No! the picture is an expression of the hatred of Ephraim cherished by Judah and the Levites. So long as Ephraim survived, that hatred maintained its strength.

About the time of Hosea's labours in the north, Isaiah was active as a prophet in Judah. But Isaiah, as we shall see, was not fit to be associated with Hosea in the prophetic ministry. A century later—a century after the doom pointed to in the opening chapter of Hosea had fallen on Samaria—Jeremiah began his ministry in Jerusalem. Here at last is a prophet in Judah to stand alongside of Hosea in Israel. Jeremiah entered on a conflict with the priests of the temple in Jerusalem from the year B.C. 621, when the book of the

law found in the Temple was accepted by king and people. No one will object to the praise of Jeremiah. He stands out as the most pathetic figure in Jewish history, till He came Who was *the* man of sorrows. He commands the sympathy and admiration of every one who reads his book. And in several respects he deserves to stand beside Hosea. The important point for Dr. Lincke is the polemic which Jeremiah waged against the priesthood of the Temple in Jerusalem, and the hierarchical legal movement that received such an impulse through the book of the covenant introduced in 621. The premonitions of the post-exilic priestly domination were already becoming prominent; and Jeremiah lifted up his voice and spared not. This book of the Law brings us back to Isaiah. That great prophet left a written roll with his disciples (chap. viii. 16, "Bind up the testimony, seal the law among my disciples"). What was the Torah thus left by Isaiah? Says Dr. Lincke in reply: The draft, if nothing more, of that book of the Law found in the Temple, and read before Josiah in 621, which with a very general consent on the part of critics is regarded as the book of Deuteronomy. "The law of the Covenant from the year 621 was the Torah of Isaiah, and of the Levites, the priests of the Temple at Jerusalem, the Torah which Jeremiah, Isaiah's greatest opponent, absolutely rejected" (p. 63). At last, then, the main difficulty regarding Deuteronomy is solved. The author is no longer one of the great unknowns. The name of Moses is no longer needed to give authority to the new legislation. Indeed, the use of the name of Moses becomes more perplexing than ever if the legislation is substantially from Isaiah. It is also a new thing even in Old Testament criticism to place Isaiah among the prophets against whom (as well as against the priests) Jeremiah had to fight.

It has been thought desirable to state at some length the critico-historical position assumed by Dr. Lincke. No space is left even to refer to the other parts of the book, the subjects of which are—Phokylides, the Essenes, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Maccabees.

Of special interest is the discussion of the pseudepigraphic poem that passed so long under the name of the Greek Gnomic poet Phokylides, and the comparison of that work with the parts of the Pentateuch with which it agrees and from which probably it was derived. (The text of this poem with a German translation in a parallel column on the same page is given in an appendix.)

But this, along with the discussions of books of Wisdom, etc., in which the ideas of the best prophecy of the pre-exilic days here and there appear and prepare the way for the better days to come, must be left to the reader.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum and a History of Classifications of the Sciences. By the Rev. ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1904. 8vo, pp. x.+340. Price 12s. 6d. net.

IN this book Professor Flint returns to a favourite study of his youth. While yet a student in Glasgow University he wrote a paper on "The Relations of the Sciences" for a literary and philosophical society, and ever since then he has had the subject more or less in his mind. At last he has been able to give to the public the results of his life-long studies and reflections on this topic. The volume is one to read rather than to criticise. It gives the substance of extensive reading—extensive indeed and all-comprehending beyond the measure of most men. It gives the pith and essence of the writings of a multitude of authorities of all grades of distinction belonging to many different lands and centuries. It does this in terms which no reader can find either obscure or dull, and in a way which makes one feel all along the course of the history of thought on these subjects the sure foot of a master. We offer the learned author our congratulations on the accomplishment of this long-contemplated task, and express the hope that in the leisure which he now enjoys he may be able to carry to their completion other works which have been eagerly expected.

In the first part of the work, which covers only sixty-three pages, Dr. Flint deals with the question of philosophy as *Scientia Scientiarum*. He points out the necessity of a science that is general, a science of the sciences—"a science which determines the principles and conditions, the limits and the relations of the sciences". This he holds to be the function of *philosophy*, and he states the claim which philosophy has to be recognised as the "Queen of the Sciences," without

whose help we can have no true or adequate conception of the magnificence of the system of which each particular science is a part. It is the final science, the highest science, doing for the various sciences as a whole what each particular science does for its own matters, relating science to science, and showing how each fits into each, so that all may "compose the symmetrical and glorious edifice of human knowledge which has been built up by the labours of all past generations".

His plea on behalf of *philosophy* in this sense as the supreme science embraces several points, which are all put with much force and pertinency. There is the consideration, for example, which has just been touched on, *viz.*, that it brings out the higher unity, a unity not simply in any particular science within itself, but a unity between all the sciences, and so saves science from "something essentially disappointing to the human mind"—the lack of the fair and harmonious body which it craves for truth. There is again the consideration that only such a comprehensive survey of the sciences as is implied in this *philosophia prima* can give us a correct idea of the special province of any one science. For "the greater the multiplication of sciences the more chaotic must be the effect they produce unless the mind can locate them aright, can refer them to their place in a system, and see how they stand to one another and the whole". Further, it is urged that this philosophy does us the great service of helping us to see how and when the different sciences can assist each other, in so far as it exhibits the co-ordination of the sciences and gives a comprehensive view of their natures. And yet again it is of incalculable use in counteracting the "evil intellectual and moral influences of specialism," as well as in directing attention to a class of truths which should have as real a place in our regard as those *within* the sciences, *viz.*, truths which lie *between* the sciences—the relations, *e.g.*, in which the mathematical sciences stand to each other and to physics.

Following up these pleas, Dr. Flint next sets forth four very complex and comprehensive problems to which philo-

sophy has to address itself if it is to rise to completeness and self-consistency. These are the problems of its duty towards the special sciences—the duty of forming a right estimate of them and taking up a right attitude to them; the investigation which it is bound to institute into the nature of *knowledge* itself, the theory of *being* and *becoming* which it has to construct in accordance with its "views of the sciences and its criticism of knowledge"; and the *forecast* which it should be able to give of the future of the world and life, of humanity and science, as well as the determination it should offer of the worth of enjoyment, and of what truth, beauty, virtue, and piety are in relation to one another, and to the great final end of existence.

In accordance with the four functions thus ascribed to philosophy Dr. Flint distinguishes between four kinds of philosophy: *positive* or *phenomenological*, *critical* or *epistemological*, *metaphysical* or *theoretical*, and *practical*, covering four great regions of thought. There is much else that one might notice in this section of the book. There are, for example, some good observations on the subject of animal intelligence or consciousness, its existence on earth incalculable ages before man appeared, its right to a place in psychology and the philosophy of knowledge, and the futility of the considerations which have led not a few to regard the study of animal mind as impracticable.

The strength of the volume, however, lies in the second section, which deals with the classification of the sciences. What Dr. Flint gives us here is a history and a criticism of the various classifications which have been constructed. This is done on a large and comprehensive scale. Every scheme of the kind from early Greek times down to the present year of grace seems to be included, and the reader whose knowledge is less encyclopædic than Dr. Flint's is introduced to many names which are utterly unfamiliar to him but with which the author is perfectly at home.

The first scheme that is examined is the Platonic. Here the question is at once put whether the division of philosophy which is most commonly attributed to him, namely, into

dialectics, physics and ethics, has any sufficient claim to be really his. Dr. Flint dissents from the position adopted by authorities like Schweigler, Zeller, Ferrier, Ueberweg and Erdmann, and holds that there is no substantial warrant for attaching that division to the great name of Plato. He explains how it may have come to be credited to him, but he points out how Plato's distribution of knowledge is one "involved in his very theory of knowledge"—in his affirmation of two worlds, a visible and an intelligible, each in turn falling into two divisions. He compares with this the Aristotelian scheme, which adopted a three-fold division of philosophy, science or knowledge, namely, into theoretic, productive and practical, and brings out in a very incisive way the defects of each, showing how Aristotle was the better fitted to deal with the complex and Plato with the abstract. From the two great Greek sages the history is carried on to the Renaissance, then from the Renaissance to Kant, from Kant to De Tracy, from Bentham to Gioberti, from Whewell to Zeller, and finally from Bain to Wundt.

But it is unnecessary and indeed impossible here to go into details. It is enough to say that in each case Dr. Flint's summaries and analyses are so lucid and so full that he makes us feel almost as conversant with the long line of thinkers and systems which he brings under review as if we had studied them at first hand. Much attention is naturally given to the classifications devised by men like Bacon, Kant, Comte, Whewell, Bain, Spencer and Janet. The criticisms are sometimes severe, as, for example, in the case of Sir William Hamilton. But they are always informing and suggestive. The book is one to which the student will often turn and which he will consult with confidence.

S. D. F. Salmond.

Christian Life in the Primitive Church. By ERNST VON DOBSCHÜTZ, D.D., Ordinary Professor of New Testament Theology in the University of Strassburg. Translated by the Rev. GEORGE BREMNER, B.D., and edited by the Rev. W. D. MORRISON, LL.D. London: Williams & Norgate; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904. 8vo, pp. xxxix. + 438. Price 10s. 6d.

Die urchristlichen Gemeinden: Sittengeschichtliche Bilder. Von ERNST VON DOBSCHÜTZ. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. 8vo, pp. xv. + 300. Price M.6.

PROFESSOR DOBSCHÜTZ'S treatise, which attracted considerable attention when it was published in Germany some two years ago, now appears in an English version. It is a testimony to the worth of the book that an English translation has been undertaken so soon, and the work of the translator has been well done. His rendering reads pleasantly, and it gives a very good representation of the original. In addition to the preface which the author wrote for the German edition, he has prepared a new preface to the English edition. Here he states anew the object of his book, namely, to give a "picture of early Christian life on its moral side," and explains his own conception of what Christianity is. It is of importance to see what that is. The answer which Professor Dobschütz returns to Harnack's question, "What is Christianity?" is that it is not "morality, moral renovation both of the individual and society," but something more distinctive and farther-reaching than that. It is "salvation by faith, faith in God through Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son". To the moral transformation which it has in view and which it effects he attaches the utmost importance. It is with this that he is to deal, and he discerns in it the most effectual proof of the truth of Christianity. But he recognises that still it is only the proof, not the essence of Christianity What Christianity distinctively is, what it brings to man as its essential contents, is this *salvation by faith*, and by such a faith as can neither arise in man apart from revelation nor

maintain itself in sinners without the assurance of forgiveness.

In defining the aim which he sets before himself in this volume, Professor Dobschütz comments upon the need of a new handling of primitive Christianity. Much has been done in exhibiting the objective content of Christian truth. Much labour has been expended on the question of Christian dogma both on the historical side and on the speculative. And in Germany in particular a considerable school, consisting mainly of the younger theologians, has arisen which has a strong mystical tendency and looks for the special power of Christianity in "enthusiasm and in ecstatic spiritual phenomena". Some members of this school go the length of representing our Lord Himself as an "ecstatic who lived in a Utopia of eschatological ideas". Others regard His apostles as men who "fell back to the level of the surrounding religions". In the judgment of our author, therefore, the time has come for a renewed study of Christianity on its moral side, and he points out very appropriately that "if Christianity is the religion in which everything is defined by the historical person of Jesus Christ, it is clear that at once the ideal of Christianity and the standard by which its historical forms are to be judged must be sought not in ecstatic bursts of feeling but in the doing of God's will".

In dealing with the moral side of Christianity, however, he does not concern himself so much with the code of ethics, if we may use such a term, found in the New Testament or with the ethical theories which have been constructed by Christianity from time to time, as with its practical results, the actual effects produced by it on the life of the individual and on that of society. The questions he regards as specially demanding answers at present are these—"How far was it found possible to realise the Christian ideal in practice? How did things look in the early Christian Communities? What was their actual moral condition? What was the individual's contribution to the moral life of the Community?" These are questions of commanding interest, to which, strange to say, comparatively little attention has been given of late

even in schools of theology which might have been expected to make much of them.

In addressing himself to his task Professor Dobschütz explains that by Primitive Christianity he means the historical entity which includes "the first century of development from the death of Jesus up to the time of Hadrian (30-130)," the period which saw an end put to the national Judaism of Palestine by Bar-Cochba, Aelia Capitolina occupying the holy place of Jerusalem, a Gentile Church settled there, Christianity beginning to "covenant with Græco-Roman civilisation" and the sinking of the primitive Christian enthusiasm. His inquiry being a historical one he takes it that all Christian compositions which belong to the period thus defined are to be used us sources, without any distinction between canonical and non-canonical. Further, he thinks that the inquiry can be properly conducted only by taking things piece by piece and giving a series of single pictures, the differences being so great in the forms of life which rose on different soils, Jewish and Greek, and in different circumstances. And again he is careful to notice that the moral condition of the non-Christian world has also to be taken into account, because only from it, as he briefly puts it, can we learn "why Christianity had such a hard fight to establish its fundamental moral thoughts," and because only in this way is it made clear to us that the "*morality* of early Christianity notwithstanding its imperfections was unmistakably higher than all that Greek civilisation could achieve".

He begins, therefore, by placing over against each other the noble and high-pitched description of the lives of Christians which Aristides gives in his *Apology* and the counter-picture in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, which sets in so strong a light the defects and disorders existing in Christian homes and in the Christian society about the same date. The question which emerges is this, How does the one description agree with the other? Which of the two is right, Aristides or Hermas? And the answer which is given to that question at the end of the elaborate historical inquiry with which the body of the book is occupied, is that Aristides was

justified in giving the description of the Christian life which he addressed to the emperor.

This conclusion is established on the basis of a series of particular studies all conducted with very great attention to details as well as to the diverse historical situations. The Pauline Churches form the first subject of investigation. After some excellent remarks on the education of the Churches, the Church of Corinth is taken in hand and a careful estimate is given us of the conditions and character of its life, its mistakes, its disorders, its defects in consistent morality, etc. The Churches of Macedonia, those of Asia Minor, and that of Rome are next dealt with in the same way, a survey of the Pauline Churches being given at the end of this division of the volume. The Second Book addresses itself to Jewish Christendom, dealing first with the Primitive Church of Jerusalem, and then with the Churches of the transition to Catholicism, this section again being brought to its conclusion with a final judgment on the case of Jewish Christianity as a whole. Each of these chapters contains many fine studies in the historical conditions of things and in the interpretation of particular passages. In not a few cases Professor Dobschütz's views are open to criticism, but the general picture which he places before us is one that commends itself as true to fact. He has done us an important service, for which we owe him much.

S. D. F. Salmond.

Notices.

The *Journal of Theological Studies* for October opens with a paper on the late Professor Robert Campbell Moberly, by his son, W. H. Moberly. It takes the form of a review of an article which appeared on the same subject in the April number of the *Church Quarterly Review*. F. Granger writes in a curious and inconclusive way on what he terms the "Inspiration of the Liturgy". He begins by asserting the "community of feeling through which the harmonious and organised activity of the Church is made possible". This "community of feeling," he says, "rests on a unity of life which transcends and includes the individual life," and he selects the term *inspiration* as best marking off this "deeper aspect of the Christian experience, so far as it goes beyond the bare conditions of the individual life". He proceeds then to set forth what he regards as the *inspiration* of the Christian Society, as he finds that disclosed in the composition of the New Testament and of the liturgy. In following out his argument he comes to this conclusion among others —that the "Roman primacy and the high doctrine of the Eucharist have a meaning for the history of the whole Christian Church, in so far as the declarations of the Roman bishops secured the two-fold view of the person of Jesus, and the Eucharistic Symbolism maintained the feeling of the incorporation of the Church in a divine body". We have also a short paper by G. St. Clair on "The Book of the Dead," dealing mainly with the astronomical basis of the ancient Egyptian theology.

But the most important article is one by Professor A. A. Bevan on "The Beliefs of Early Mohammedanism respecting a future existence". The point of the paper is that the religion of the heathen Arabs did not include any belief in a Paradise or a Hell; that Mohammed's own teaching on the

subject of a future existence, "far from supplying any easy explanation of his success, is proved to have been a great stumbling-block to his contemporaries, and was never fully accepted by his followers in subsequent ages"; and that there is a vast difference between the teaching of the Koran itself on the subject and that of the sacred tradition and the theologians. In connexion with this general position the particular doctrines of *resurrection* and *retribution* are examined, and the difference between the earlier books of the Koran and the later is explained. The doctrine of the resurrection is considered to have been derived by Mohammed rather from Christian sources—probably from wandering ascetics and sectaries—than from Judaism or Zoroastrianism. One important difference between the one doctrine and the other is pointed out at the same time, namely, that the doctrine as given in the Koran does not connect the future resurrection of the dead with the resurrection of Christ as the "first-fruits of them that sleep". And as regards the doctrine of retribution, we are reminded that the elaborate descriptions of the judgment, Paradise and Hell, are confined to the older chapters of the Koran which were produced by Mohammed at Mecca; whereas in the later chapters, written after Mohammed had established himself in Medina, the allusions to these subjects "became much rarer, and seldom differ from those which are found in popular Christian writings". The strange developments of the doctrine of the Koran which took place in the theologies—the extraordinary ideas regarding examination and suffering taking place in the grave, the extravagant attempts also to spiritualise the promises and threatenings of the Koran, etc., etc.—are briefly but incisively described in the closing portion of the article.

The most interesting article in the *American Journal of Philology* (vol. xxv., p. 2) is one by G. L. Hendrickson on "The Peripatetic Mean of Style and the Three Stylistic Characters". The conclusions of the writer are these—that the doctrine of the different styles, whether as presented by Dionysius, or in the more typical formulation of other sources, cannot be referred to Theophrastus; that it is not an his-

torical development from the peripatetic triad of the extreme, the deficiency, and the mean; and that the conception of style of whatever kind as a mean is fundamental to Aristotle's theory and was defined more accurately and illustrated by Theophrastus.

To the October issue of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, the editor, Dr. W. T. Davison, contributes two brief but very interesting papers, one on "Newly Discovered Sayings of Jesus," and another on "The Problem of Pain".

The October issue of the *Catholic World* opens with an instructive paper by the Rev. John Driscoll on "Mr. Mallock and the Philosophy of Theism". And among other things there is a very readable account of "Hildesheim, the Capital of the Prince-Bishops," by C. T. Mason.

The *Princeton Theological Review* for the last two quarters contains a number of papers which deserve attention. We notice especially in the July number the second part of Dr. Paul van Dyke's interesting study of "Thomas Cromwell," a very good discussion of "The Place of οἰκοδομή in New Testament Worship," by Professor Hugh M. Scott, and a careful and suggestive article by Professor G. Macloskie on "Mosaism and Darwinism". In the October issue Professor Robert Dick Wilson continues his elaborate essay on criticism under the designation of "Royal Titles in Antiquity". Professor B. B. Warfield contributes a learned and instructive paper on "The Millennium and the Apocalypse," in which he takes the millennium of the Apocalypse to be the "blessedness of the saints who have gone away from the body to be at home with the Lord". He finds that "John knows no more of two resurrections—of the saints and of the wicked—than does Paul"; and that the "whole theory of an intervening millennium—and indeed of a millennium of any kind on earth—goes up in smoke". Dr. Edward White Miller writes well on "The Great Awakening," that is to say, the remarkable revival of religion which took place in America at the time when the work of the Wesleys was beginning in England; and Professor Orr discusses the question "Why the Mind has a Body".

In the *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* for June-July we find a good paper by Georges Michelet on "Kant en France d'après M. Schanz".

Mind for October is a particularly rich number. Professor William James opens with a paper in his best style on "Humanism and Truth". F. C. S. Schiller writes "In Defence of Humanism". It is a criticism and appreciation of Mr. Bradley's article on "Truth and Practice" in the July issue of the same magazine, which he regards as marking an epoch in the history of British philosophy. Among other important contributions to this number we may call special attention to an elaborate article by A. E. Taylor on "Mind and Body in Recent Psychology".

In the *Homiletic Review* for October Dr. Frank F. Ellinwood continues his papers on "New Religions of the Nineteenth Century," giving a brief study of "Babism". Dr. Isaac Funk writes on "The Fraudulent Side of Spiritualism," Dr. D. Bradley writes instructively on "Effective and Ineffective Doctrinal Preaching," and there is abundance of good matter in the sections devoted to "Sermonic Criticism and Suggestion" and "Studies on Bible Themes".

The current issue of the *Church Quarterly Review* has a larger number of articles than is usual with it which have a special interest for the Anglican Church. These include papers on the "English Church in Syria," "Church Reform," the "Liverpool Cathedral and Diocese," not to speak of the opening article on "Religion in Cambridge". These are all of value from the English Church point of view. But in addition to these we have interesting papers of a different kind, one, *e.g.*, on "Christina Rossetti," which is appreciative and well worth reading, another on the "Oxford School of Historians," and a third on "The Return of the Catechist". There are other two articles, however, which are of more general importance than these, and to which the attention of more readers will naturally be turned. One of these deals with "The Christian Society". It is an introductory paper discussing the "Jewish Community". The writer very properly begins by stating that "any attempt to investigate

the origin and development of Christianity as a society should begin with an examination of the Jewish environment out of which it grew," and what he does in this paper is to inquire "how far the conception which we describe by the name of a Church was realised or latent in the Jewish nation at the time when Christianity first began". He gives, therefore, his view of the position occupied by the Jewish race in the ancient world, discusses very carefully the history of the term *ecclesia*, and states the principles involved in the idea of Judaism and the organisation, whether central or local, of the Jewish community. The other paper is on "The Virgin Birth of Christ". It keeps in view the best of the English books, pamphlets and articles which have appeared recently, and the German contributions to the subject, especially those of Lobstein and Schmiedel. It deals ably with the question of the supposed insufficiency of evidence. It goes into a very careful estimate of the *a posteriori* evidence as contained in the narratives of Matthew and Luke, and then of certain phrases in the writings of Paul and John as well as some in Ignatius and one or two other early Christian writers. Here the article brings out the independence of the accounts and the fact that the Matthean and Lucan narratives rest on "two convergent traditions, coming from distinct sources, which "mutually corroborate and sustain each other". Further, it shows how incompetent it is to say that the statement of the virgin birth is to be explained by the operation of the popular imagination on certain passages of the Old Testament or on current Messianic ideas. It affirms Dalman's position when he declares that "no trace is to be found among the Jews of any Messianic application of Isaiah's words concerning the Virgin's Son from which by any possibility—as some have maintained —the whole account of the miraculous birth of Jesus could have derived its origin". Passing from the evangelical records the article proceeds to look at larger considerations, especially at the necessity of reading the story of the virgin birth in the light of the resurrection of Jesus and also in that of His sinlessness, and comes finally to this as the prac-

tical issue, *viz.*, that this article of faith, though it may seem to occupy small space in the New Testament, has a significance which becomes greater the more it is pondered; that no Anglican priest has the "right" to repudiate it; and that the Church ought still to guard this part of her creed.

The current issue of the *American Journal of Theology* opens with an interesting article by Mr. A. Taylor Innes on "The Religious Forecast in England". Mr. Innes thinks we can at least "dimly discern better things in the later years of the century whose threshold we have been permitted to see". He dwells on the "proposal to Englishmen to believe in religion as culture rather than in God as fact". He thinks there is much to favour that, in the English habit of compromise, the desire to mend rather than end whatever is doing any good work, the preference for conservative custom, and the like, but that all this may be more than counterbalanced by "the sturdy individuality of the people". But he is not hopeful of the best until the English working class comes to its own. There is another paper which will have much interest for many, that is one in which Lewis Bayles Paton of Hartford, Conn., writes on "The Oral Sources of the Pentateuch". He finds the narratives of the patriarchs traceable to four main sources—the tradition which Israel brought into the land of Canaan, the tradition developed after the Conquest, the tradition derived from Babylonia, and the tradition learned from the Canaanites. He thinks this account of the origins clears the narrative of its perplexities and seeming confusions, and has the further advantage of restoring two lost sources of history, *viz.*, the Canaanite traditions and the experience of the Hebrews after the conquest of the land. Other articles by Rudolph M. Burder, of New York, and Dr. Benjamin W. Bacon, of Yale University, deal with "Art, Religion and the Emotions," and "The Problem of Religious Education and the Divinity School".

In the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October, Dr. Kuyper continues his discussion of the "Biblical Criticism of the Present Day," and Philip Hudson Churchman gives the second part of his "Appeal to the New School of Theology". Edward M.

Merrins writes on "The Malady of Saul, King of Israel," which he takes to have been epilepsy. Dr. A. A. Berle contributes a somewhat extravagant disquisition on the "Illusions of a Personal Theology," in which he has much to say about the demoralisation of the religious world, the labyrinth of theological symbolism, etc. In the theological productions of the last twenty years he discovers too much of the "passionate assertion of the value of the individual, and of his supremacy in the matter of religious judgment, and the inviolability of his primitive emotions and instincts, and the godlike quality of his 'natural' aptitudes and insights". He finds so much of this as to make one think "that organised collective religion is a mere dream, and that Christianity is a sort of universal eclectic system, wherein each one takes and uses what he wishes, without any respect to his fellowmen". But what is the meaning of all this? R. E. Neighbor writes on "The Diaconate: a New Testament Study," and Frederick W. Hass on the "Development of a Political System in the Early Church". There is also an article by Dr. Robert Cameron on "New Light on the Psalms," which expounds the main points in Mr. Thirstle's work on "The Titles of the Psalms," claiming enormous importance for Mr. Thirstle's discovery and showing how it will affect certain conclusions of the critical schools.

The sixth issue of the fifth volume of the *Teologisk Tidsskrift*, edited by Messrs. Andersen, Floystrup and Torm, contains a good article by Pastor L. J. Koch on "Kanon og Kritik," and a number of careful reviews of books.

The *Baptist Review and Expositor* (Norton Hall, Louisville, Ky.), the commencement of which we reported in a previous issue, has now reached its third quarter. The numbers for July and October are quite equal in quality and variety of contents to the first number. In the July issue Dr. Henry C. Vedder discusses the question "Is there a true Christian Mysticism?" Dr. James Stalker gives an excellent and very readable account of the "Teaching of Jesus on the Highest Good"; and Professor John R. Sampey writes on the "Code of Hammurabi and the Laws of Moses". The

October number opens with papers by Dr. James Orr on "Christ in the Thought of To-Day," and Dr. O. P. Gifford on "Old and New Evangelism". Under the title of "The Book of the Unseen World," Dr. J. Hunt Cooke gives an interesting account of an important theological treatise or poem found elaborately carved on the lid and bottom of a large ancient sarcophagus in the museum in Lincoln's Inn Square, London, which formed the resting place of Seti I., one of the great Pharaohs of the oppression of the Israelites. Dr. Cooke claims among other things that in this "Book of Hades," as it is designated, may be found "a clue to the understanding of the magnificent vision with which the book of Genesis opens". President J. J. Taylor contributes a study of "Herbert Spencer," and there are other papers of good quality together with some valuable reviews of books.

We have also to notice the following publications. *Books to Read and How to Read Them*,[1] by Hector Macpherson, author of *Adam Smith, Thomas Carlyle, Herbert Spencer*, etc., a collection of papers which appeared originally in the columns of the *Edinburgh Evening News*, and which the accomplished journalist, their author, has done well to publish in book form. They range over the great subjects of Biblical Criticism, Philosophy, Science, the Ethical Evolution of Man, the Development of Man and Society, the Elements of Greek Civilisation, the Evolution of Greek Literature, the Evolution of Pagan Thought and Life, the Hebrews in History, the Key to Modern Civilisation, the Renaissance and the Reformation, the Reformation as an Epoch, Currents in Modern Civilisation, and Currents in Modern Thought. On each of those subjects the author gives a summary of the main positions, his own view of the validity and the results of those positions, and a statement of the most important books. One cannot agree with him in all that he says about the literature of these subjects. There are some books which we should be inclined to leave out and some which we should add. But as a whole the

[1] Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. 252. Price 3s. 6d. net.

volume is wonderfully complete and just in its summaries and wonderfully correct in its references to literature. Mr. Macpherson's own criticisms of some of the popular theories of the day hit the mark in most cases. In some instances they are as pungent as they are independent. Let the reader turn, *e.g.*, to what is said of Darwin's theory of Natural Selection; *A Short History of the Westminster Assembly*,[1] by W. Beveridge, M.A., a publication which appears at an opportune time and which ought to have a special interest for Scottish readers. Its object is to "give a fair and accurate statement of the historical facts associated with the Assembly," and to bring out the epoch-making character of the Assembly in the period of history to which it belonged. This is done with great care, with perfect fairness, and in a way that gives us to feel at every step of the statement that we are in the hands of one who has the right to speak to us which comes of wide and first-hand acquaintance with the abundant materials at our disposal. The book begins with a short chapter on the Puritan Preparation and proceeds then to deal with the Calling, Constitution, and Character of the Assembly, the Scope of its Deliberation, the Solemn League and Covenant, the Questions of Church Government which came up for discussion, the Directories and the Psalm-Book, the Confession of Faith, and the Catechisms. On these subjects a mass of information is given which helps the reader to a very clear understanding of the work of the Assembly, and the importance of much that it did. An appendix is added, giving the ordinance by which the Assembly was called, a list of the members, the text of the Solemn League and Covenant, and Robert Baillie's description of the Assembly. Important notes are also furnished on the question of "Spiritual Independence" and "the Confession of Faith and the Free Church of Scotland Declaratory Act of 1892". These have an important bearing on the crisis created by the recent judgment of the House of Lords, and the denial of any legislative power to the historical

[1] Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 169. Price 2s. 6d. net.

Presbyterian Church in Scotland. The author deserves our congratulations on the production of a volume so full of valuable information and casting so much light on the far-reaching questions at present occupying the mind of the Scottish people; *The Truth of the Apostolic Gospel*,[1] by Principal R. A. Falconer, D.Litt., a volume which does not aim at anything like a complete system of Christian Apologetics, but seeks simply to give a series of studies, taken as far as may be from the New Testament itself, with the view of "setting forth the essence and the strength of the Gospel which is at its heart". After a concise introduction on "Attitude and Sources," the writer deals in Part I. with "The Phenomena of the New Testament" (the rise of a new brotherhood, the hope of the brotherhood, the sense of power in it, etc.), while in Part II. he gives the New Testament explanation of these phenomena ("The Gospel," "The Jesus of the Gospels," "The Jesus Christ of the Apostles," etc.). In Part III. he discusses the "Credibility of the Apostolic Gospel," under the particular topics of the "Trustworthiness of the Gospels," "The Christ of the Gospels," and the "Witness of the Works of the Living Christ". These studies are done with much care. They furnish a good guide to college students and others, and meet in a fair and reasonable spirit many of the difficulties for which younger students not unfrequently have to seek an answer; *Young England*,[2] an illustrated magazine for boys throughout the English-speaking world—a publication which we can again heartily recommend as admirably suited to the class it seeks to reach and sure to interest them; *The Three Graces*,[3] by Evelyn Everett-Green—a good story well told, which provides pleasant and profitable reading for young people; *The Empire Elocutionist*,[4] a series of readings selected and arranged with much good taste by A. L. Haydon, giving many

[1] New York: The International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, 1904. 8vo, pp. 148.

[2] London: 57 and 59 Ludgate Hill. Pp. 492. Price 5s.

[3] London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 245. Price 3s. 6d.

[4] London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 607.

telling passages from the best authors and a very useful introduction in which Professor P. J. Cooke, of the Northern Polytechnic, London, deals very sensibly with the art of elocution—a volume well adapted for its purpose; *On Public Speaking*,[1] a series of sensible and suggestive chapters, by "a public speaker," on eloquence, what it is not and what it is, its importance and how it is to be acquired, etc.; *Twice Born and other Sermons*,[2] by D. W. Simon, D.D. (Edin.), author of *The Redemption of Man, Reconciliation by Incarnation*, etc., a volume which takes its title from the discourse on John iii. 3 with which it opens. Among other themes which it handles are these: "Obedience and Knowledge," "Spiritual Energy and Law," "Divine Fatherhood," "God's Commendation of His own Love," etc. They are all weighty themes, most of them touching the very centre of Christian truth and Christian experience. They are expounded with much spiritual insight and applied with great practical power. The book is one that serves well the primary interests of Christian intelligence and Christian edification, and deserves a large welcome from those whose desire is to be instructed in the deep things of God; *The Revelation of the East*,[3] by A. Morris Stewart, M.A., a series of chapters originally contributed to the *Contemporary Review*, suggested by the Japanese war, and discoursing in a pleasant and suggestive way on the "Westward Drift," "New Birth from the East," etc.; *Hurrah for the Spanish Main*[4] and *The Other Fellow*,[5] by Robert Leighton, two stirring, healthy and well-told tales, the one relating to Drake's third voyage to Darien and the other touching colonial life, excellent examples of books designed for boys' reading; *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*,[6] by Morris Jastrow, junr., the

[1] Dublin: James Duffy & Co., 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. 171. Price 2s.
[2] London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 248. Price 3s. 6d. net.
[3] London: Andrew Melrose. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. 52. Price 6d. net.
[4] London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 312. Price 6s.
[5] London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 308. Price 6s.
[6] Giessen: Richter, 1904. 8vo, pp. 385-464. Subscription price, M.1.50.

sixth instalment of the German translation of the new and thoroughly revised edition of the learned author's valuable work, indispensable for all students of Babylonian and Assyrian religion; *Samuel Rutherford*,[1] by Robert Gilmour, described as a "Study Biographical and Somewhat Critical, in the History of the Scottish Covenant," a welcome addition to our literature on one of the most remarkable of Scottish divines and one of the epoch-making periods in the history of the Scottish people. Mr. Gilmour's book is full of interest. It gives us not only a fresh and independent study of Rutherford himself and his career, but also a very careful estimate of the great revolutionary movement with which his life and work were connected. The book is thrown into a series of short, lively, pointedly constructed chapters, which carry the reader easily along and leave him with a very vivid impression of the distinction of the man and the character of the era in which he stood out so prominent a figure; *The Golden Book of John Owen*,[2] by James Moffatt, B.D., D.D. (St. Andrews), a handsome, instructive and attractive volume. It consists, as the sub-title expresses it, of "passages from the writings of the Rev. John Owen, M.A., D.D., sometime Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford and Dean of Christ Church". But it is prefaced by an elaborate introductory sketch by Dr. Moffatt which extends to ninety-six pages. In this sketch the main points in the career of the great Puritan are brought before the reader in a clear and interesting way. The outstanding qualities of his character, the place he occupied in the great Puritan movement and the value of his work are also ably dealt with and brought very distinctly before our notice. The study of this sketch should do much to revive the memory of a theologian of high rank who once on a day was far better known than he is now and who does not deserve to be forgotten. In this introduction Dr. Moffatt makes use of a mass of knowledge drawn from many different quarters and sometimes of a rare

[1] Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. 244. Price 2s. 6d. net.

[2] London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904. Pp. xx.+244. Price 6s.

and curious order, which is skilfully employed in the production of a picture of the man, his times and his work, which is worth our study. And it is far from a simple laudation of Owen. Dr. Moffatt applies a critical eye to his subject and says what requires to be said about Owen's occasional mistakes in judgment, his lack of the historical sense, his vast prolixity, the lack of anything like style in his writings, etc. His aim has been, as he explains it, "to focus general readers as far as possible for an appreciation of this gaunt, noble, half-forgotten Puritan, which will present him, not as a voice alone, but as a breathing figure in the misty, complex spaces of our seventeenth century". He has succeeded in this, but he has also done much more. The passages have been selected with care and good judgment. They are never very long. Many of them are of great interest. Those which seem to us to be most striking and of greatest value are the very brief declarations which are given under the head of "Sentences and Aphorisms". Many of these will have a sure place in our memories and quicken our thought on the profounder questions of faith and theology. But we need say no more of this attractive and useful volume than that it must have cost Dr. Moffatt much, and that we hope he may have his reward in finding it the means of sending many readers back to the study of one of the greatest names in the religious and theological thought of one of the most momentous eras in our history; *Eli, Samuel and Saul*,[1] by the Rev. Charles A. Salmond, South Morningside, Edinburgh, a small volume which is fitly described by the author as "A Transition Chapter in Israelitish History". The period of the Old Testament history which is covered by it is full of interest and it is appropriately set forth here. The outstanding events in the times in question are told in good style; the great actors in it are vividly presented; and the operation of the Hand of the God of Israel in the course of the history is fittingly exhibited. It is a good book for Bible-class work; *Ezekiel: His Life and Mission*,[2] by the Rev. W. Harvey-Jellie,

[1] Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Pp. 104. Price 6d.; cloth 8d.
[2] Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Pp. 99. Price 6d.; cloth 8d.

M.A., B.D. (London), Cheltenham, a very careful study of a dark period in the history of Israel and the great and pathetic figure with which it is peculiarly identified in the long line of the prophets. The author has steadily kept in view the main purpose of the volume, namely, use in Bible-class work, and has produced an excellent primer, lucidly written and giving a vivid picture of the third of the great prophets, the prophet of the exile, the disastrous times in which his lot was cast, his character and his peculiar mission. Many readers outside the circle to which it is specially addressed will find much to interest them in the volume and much that will help them to a better understanding of the book of Ezekiel—one of the least studied and least appreciated of all the Old Testament writings; the *Expository Times*,[1] edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., a new volume, the fifteenth of a magazine which has firmly established itself in the goodwill of a large class of readers and continues its useful career with undiminished vigour. Scholars of many different Churches, English and foreign, bishops of the Anglican communion and representatives of many other religious bodies contribute to this volume and enrich its contents. From month to month clerical readers, and many more than they, find in this magazine the help that they need; *Sons o' Men*,[2] by G. B. Lancaster, a good story, powerfully told, of colonial life in South New Zealand; *The Bible Handbook: an Introduction to the Study of Sacred Scripture*,[3] by the late Joseph Angus, M.A., D.D., a new edition, thoroughly revised and in part re-written by Samuel G. Green, D.D. Dr. Angus's handbook was a very useful volume in its time, and in this new issue, brought up to date as it is with remarkable thoroughness and eminent good sense by one of our most venerable scholars, it may well look forward to a new career of usefulness. In a concise and serviceable form it gives a great mass of information suitable to the student's needs

[1] Volume XV. T. & T. Clark. Pp. viii. + 508. Price 7s. 6d.

[2] London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 299. Price 6s.

[3] London: The Religious Tract Society, 1904. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 832. Price 6s. net.

regarding the languages, the Canon, the text, the transmission, the translations of the Old Testament and the New, the credentials and claims of the Bible, the interpretation of Scripture, etc., as also a careful account, conservative in tendency, of the contents, origin, authorship, date, integrity, etc., of each particular book in the Canon; *The Republic of Plato*,[1] by William Boyd, M.A., B.Sc., a book founded on a course of lectures in connexion with the class of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, and addressed in the first instance to "the beginner in philosophy who finds Plato difficult even when read with the help of the excellent expositions of his English commentators". It gives a very useful account, expressed in a clear and simple style, of Plato himself, and his teaching on justice, the origin and growth of the ideal city, the first education of the guardians, communism, the philosopher as king, the higher education, the theory of education, the imperfect states, the quarrel between philosophy and poetry and the immortality of the soul. Mr. Boyd's expositions are necessarily brief. In some cases, especially on the subject of immortality, they are too concise. But generally speaking, they give a correct and informing summary of the subject in hand. Those entering on the study of Plato will certainly find a very good guide in the writer of the volume; *Questions of Faith*,[2] a series of lectures on the Creed delivered in Renfield Church, Glasgow, by Professors Denney, Dods and others. The Creed is not expounded and defended as a whole, but the fundamental articles are selected. Each of these lectures is helpful in its own place and each treats its particular subject in a way that should appeal to mind and heart alike. Each, too, gives a remarkably adequate and convincing presentation of the case which it has in hand; *On the Church of England*,[3] sermons and addresses by Herbert Ryle, D.D., Archbishop of Winchester,

[1] London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 196. Price 2s. 6d. net.

[2] London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904. Small cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 212. Price 5s.

[3] London: Macmillan & Co., 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. 276. Price 6s.

the product of a lengthened period of illness from which the author, we rejoice to know, is now restored. The opening sermon is on "The Spirit of Faction". It deals with the state of the English Church, its renovated activities, its multiplied agencies, and the strong life it has notwithstanding failures in the past and the present, and reviews succinctly the Evangelical Movement, the Oxford Movement, and the movement less easy to define which is connected with the names of Arnold, Robertson, Maurice, Kingsley, Tom Hughes and their comrades. This is followed by two important pronouncements on the "Appeal to Antiquity as a Principle in the Reformation Settlement" and the "Protestantism of the Church of England". The object of the former is to show how the reforming divines in the Church of England, taking the sovereign position of Holy Scripture as the primary thing, appealed to antiquity, and how this appeal is seen in its application in the writings of Cranmer and Ridley, in the Homilies of the Church and in the later writings of Hooker, Field, Pearson and Barrow. The object of the latter is to show that the term *Protestant* as used of the English Church is not merely retrospective, but possesses a real significance for us now. These questions are handled with historical insight, with sobriety of judgment, and in a liberal spirit. The statement of the Protestant character of the Church and what determines it deserves special attention. Three great principles are expounded as belonging to that Protestant character, *viz.*, that Holy Scripture is the one absolute standard of Christian doctrine and conduct; that liberty of conscience and the right of private judgment are the prerogatives of the believer; and that a National Church is independent of foreign control. The volume contains a number of discourses on topics of a different kind—on "Spiritual Sight," "Elijah's Mantle," the "Doctrine of the Trinity," etc., all well worthy of a careful perusal; *Seeking Life, and other Sermons*,[1] by the Rt. Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D., late Bishop of Massachusetts, the tenth series of the sermons of

[1] London: Macmillan & Co., 1904. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 374. Price 6s.

the eloquent Boston preacher, and the last that is to be published. The volume, if it does not contain any of his very greatest efforts, is rich in admirable specimens of that pulpit work which won for him so eminent a place among the notable preachers of the nineteenth century. In such discourses as those on "The Child's Leadership," "The Nearness of God," "Self-Consciousness and Self-Forgetfulness," "The Mystery of Man," to mention but a few, the reader will come under the spell of a rarely gifted minister of Christian truth and find much to quicken his religious life.

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